

Pater-noster 1757

NORTHERN REVOLUTIONS.

PART II.

CONTAINING THE
CHARACTERS of the PRINCIPAL AGENTS

In bringing the FREE STATE of

NORDWEG and DANEMARCH

TO

FINAL DISSOLUTION.

ADDRESSED and PRESENTED

TO HIS Grace the DUKE of BEDFORD,

Lord Lieutenant general and general Governor of IRELAND,

By BRITANNO-HIBERNUS, C.D.P.F.H.E.

Fair FREEDOM, BIRTH-RIGHT of all thinking kinds,
Reason's great CHARTER, from no king deriv'd,
By none to be reclaim'd; man's RIGHT DIVINE,
Which GOD, who gave, INDELIBLE pronounced.

MALLET's Hermit,

LONDON,

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Some of the more palpable ERRORS to be Corrected.

Page 27, line 32, for he, read, she. p. 28, l. 33, for they, r. the people. p. 34, l. 24, for desence, r. defence. p. 44, l. 36, for instrusted, r. intrusted. p. 45, l. 17, for which, r. whom. p. 49, l. 35, for comprise, r. compromise. p. 73, l. 37, for they, r. the. p. 80, l. 30, for respetive ruin, r. respective ruins. p. 102, l. 32, for the prefident of the commons, r. instead of the prefident of the commons, baron Belston. p. 112, l. 5, for grievance, r. grievances. p. 126, l. 26, after stiled, add the. p. 157, l. 26, after it; add a. p. 138, l. 3, for born, r. borne. p. 145, l. 18, for demonstratian, r. demonstration. p. 152, l. 3, for think, r. thought. p. 156, l. 32, after was, add the p.

TO HIS GRACE
The DUKE of BEDFORD,
Lord Lieutenant general and general Governor
of IRELAND.

MY LORD,

THE purport and intent of this address leave no room for an apology for directing it, even to YOUR GRACE: it comes from a BRITON, who has not yet learned to fawn for favours. And who, above all selfish or sinister motives, judges it his duty, as well as his right, to make this seasonable application to the REPRESENTATIVE of his SOVEREIGN, before he enters upon his HIGH COMMISSION; and this, with due respect to YOUR GRACE, and with the most public, the most disinterested views.

YOUR GRACE is now setting out in the most high, the most important and honourable employment, at this time known in the gift of any crowned head in EUROPE. You are to represent the MAJESTY of BRITAIN in a confederate kingdom. The GOOD of his PEOPLE, HIS OWN HONOUR, and YOUR RENOWN, must be presumed the objects of his MAJESTY's views in the appointment of YOUR GRACE to hold the regal reins of government, for him, in that kingdom.

It cannot be suggested, that YOUR GRACE could accept of this great commission with any other view, than the fulfilling his MAJESTY's intentions. And therefore, it must be presumed, that every hint tending to these great ends, tho' it should come from the meanest hand, must be acceptable to YOUR GRACE.

YOUR office, MY LORD, like that of a king, admits of no mediocrity in its execution: every

lieutenant, as well as every king, must either be a blessing or a curse to the people over whom he is set to rule. And, as honour and glory ever attend a just and faithful discharge of the vicegerents, as well as of the regal, office; so must shame and infamy pursue the abuse or neglect of either. In such an alternative, it cannot be difficult to determine which must become YOUR GRACE's choice.

There is nothing more surprizing than the disproportion universally found, between the powers exercised by crowned heads and their substitutes: Most of these appear to have been every where so intoxicated with pomp, that they soon forgot their conditions, as well as their principals. So far did the viceroy of *Naples* formerly eclipse his sovereign of *Spain*, that a *Neapolitan* suitor has been known to express his gratitude, upon obtaining a suit from the king, which was not to be asked, much less obtained, from his lieutenant; by praying his majesty may live to be as great as the viceroy of *Naples*. The like prayer might sometime have been as properly made by certain subjects of *Ireland*, had their loyal petitions to their sovereign been heard.

This disproportion however, is not so wonderful in absolute monarchies, remote from the seat of government: there, the viceroy, at setting out, must exercise the despotic sway of his principal: upon which, in time, he generally founds a tyranny of his own.

But, as it is hard to conceive how the multitude should any where suffer the establishment of a single tyrant; it is still harder to judge, by what means the vicegerents of limited monarchs, should become tyrants; such as have overturned the free states of *Nordweg* and *Danemarch*, and have, sometime, industriously laboured to effect the destruction of *Ireland* and *England*.

The freedom and rights of the subjects, are as well established, as the prerogatives of the crowns, of these kingdoms. No good subject can give up the one, more than he can invade, curtail or extend the other. The laws, which are the loyal subjects protection, set no limits to the power of the crown, in DOING GOOD. And while they punish the transgressing subject, they expressly provide, THAT THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG.

Had these relations, these rules of action, been properly observed, between the kings and people, neither *Nordweg* or *Danemarch* had yet fallen, nor should we have seen so few, so very few of the king's lieutenants in *Ireland*, that thought themselves under any legal direction or restraint, much less circumscribed by such narrow rules as these.

Upon a presumption, that YOUR GRACE's greatest ambition is to be inrolled in this most truly honourable MINORITY; a stranger takes the liberty of setting YOUR ILLUSTRIOUS NAME to the front of these sketches of HISTORICAL FACTS; which, though relating to men and countries, in whose fates, these happy realms may not be thought immediately concerned; yet, from the natural relations and connexions of civil societies to each other, may not be found altogether unworthy of the attention of a patriot, even in YOUR GRACE's exalted station.

The most sensible traveller, in strange countries, requires a guide. And the most expert mariner, in every port, demands a pilot.

From a knowledge of the country and the coasts, to which YOU are bound; with the pure intent of steering YOUR GRACE's barque, clear of the streights, shoals and rocks, that have retarded and indangered, frustrated and dishonoured the navigation of some of YOUR predecessors, as well as wrecked their vessels on an enemy's shore, and with that of pointing out the open, safe, fair, short and pleasant, though
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the least crowded ways, that lead where YOUR GRACE can most easily, effectually and honourably discharge the great duties of YOUR office; where you may find YOUR GREAT PRINCIPAL enthroned in the hearts of a loyal people; with these purposes and from these motives alone, a man, who looks for no private favour, with due respect, thus offers himself, YOUR GRACE's guide. If he shews, he knows the ways; you can not disdain his humble aid. If he should be mistaken; his honest zeal to serve his KING, his COUNTRY, and YOUR GRACE, must plead his excuse, where possibly the rules of prudence may not enforce his counsel. But, if he sets buoys upon the rocks, on which others have split, it will surely be offering an acceptable service to YOUR GRACE.

From the general similitude of the tempers and dispositions of men, in all ages and nations of the world; all human institutions, however wisely planned and firmly founded, must ever be subject to fluctuation and decay. The greatest commonwealths, the most powerful empires, had frailty enough, interwoven with their frames, to cause a sensible decay, after a certain period; and in time, to work their final dissolutions. And if we may exult upon being the last of the gothic governments of *Europe*, that has preserved its integrity; we have still the mortifying considerations, that ours was but the last founded, and that however nobly and strongly our political fabric may be built; there is so much human frailty in its composition; that it had not till now withstood the shocks of time and perverse men, were it not duly supplied with succours drawn from the original funds of wisdom and virtue, by which it was raised, and from whence it must ever stand in need of constant, regular supplies for its support.

We have lived to have the advantage of the neighbouring nations in numberless instances: our
wise

wise fathers have collected all that was found good, without the gross evils, of the polity of the mother states. Having thus composed and established a better system of civil society; we have made out a title, to what we now enjoy, superior longevity to most, if not to all, of the other governments, on the same plan. And, if we do not prudently avoid the causes that concurred in the ruin of like-founded states, and by their fatal examples, protract, if not prevent, our own destruction; how deservedly great must be our condemnation !

It is with intent, MY LORD, to point out the disastrous steps of others, as a warning to ourselves, that I have thus endeavoured to collect the scattered fragments of the obscure histories of fallen *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*, and placed them in the following familiar view.

From the situation of this people, their customs, manners and politics, may be presumed to bear stronger affinity to ours, than those of *Romans* or of *Greeks*, which we have fondly affected to emulate. We certainly swarmed from the northern hive. And as we evidently derive the principles of our polity from the same source; it is but wise to regulate our political oeconomy so, as neither to adopt or inherit the distempers that hastened the ruin of the parent country.

When YOUR GRACE casts an eye over the annexed papers, you will discover the diseases that brought the states of *Danemarch* and *Nordweg* to final dissolution. There are no diseases, which the children have more to dread, than those that have proved fatal to their parents. And when those are once known, the offspring that do not, to their might, guard against the evils of the dreadful inheritance, deserve neither help nor pity in their distresses.

Whether there be any thing in the cases and circumstances, or in the characters of the men, that
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concurred in the destruction of *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*, analogous to those that have occurred in the annals of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, is submitted to YOUR GRACE's judgment.

But, with heart-felt sorrow, it must be observed, that *Ireland* has laboured under such oppressive and iniquitous measures of administration, as were sometime a reproach to her sons, as well as to the generality of the rulers, that have been set over that ill-fated people.

Such, MY LORD, have some time been the rulers of that unhappy people, that no subject could say, his life, liberty or property were secure, if the viceroy thought it but expedient to bereave the unfortunate object of his displeasure or envy, of all or any part of his possessions. And, though this made a part of the complicated accusations, that justly brought one tyrannical vice-king to the block; some of his successors have no less hardily perpetrated the like crimes; by one means or other, assuring themselves of impunity.

The oppressor's wrongs, the law's delay, and the insolence of office have often been loudly, bitterly complained of in that kingdom. Yet have the complaints of the aggrieved been so far from being carried, or permitted to come, to the throne; that the injured have been punished for complaining. And this, much later than lord *Strafford's* time.

Instances might be given YOUR GRACE, not only of individuals, but of whole communities of subjects, being openly and peremptorily denied justice in the courts of law; while the oppressed were censured, if not punished, for only attempting to sue for common rights by due course of law. The authors of these enormities may be known, by finding the perjured, iniquitous judge, and perhaps his abettors, rewarded with annual bribes, pensions extorted from the abused public.

In short, MY LORD, while we have lived to see the highest crimes committed by men in the highest stations ; we have also seen the most zealous asserters of the rights of *British* subjects; agreeable to the principles that brought about the revolution and the *Hanover* succession, loaded with oppression and obloquy, in *Ireland* ; where such subjects have suffered per^{secution}, banishment and disfranchisement, without the authority, without the bare form of law ; while their antagonists, for no greater merit than opposing such, from the contrary principles and views, have been dignified with titles, or supported by pensions on the plundered public. Who has not seen or heard of these outrages, these daring insults to the sovereign ? Yet who has stood forth to demand justice or redress of wrongs ? Who has made the destructive grievances known to the crown ?

It cannot be doubted, that it is HIS MAJESTY's full intention, that no complainings, no murmurings should be heard any where in our streets. And we may reasonably presume, it is with a view, becoming his royal clemency, and paternal care, with intent to wipe away the tears of his faithful and long-suffering subjects, that HIS MAJESTY now sends one, in all respects so fully qualified to represent him, as the OFFSPRING of that MARTYRED PATRIOT, whose memory must ever be held sacred, while any traces or sense of *British* liberties remain.

Had I not, from these considerations, conceived some hopes of a restitution of long-suppressed, public rights in *Ireland*, for the common good and honour of *England*, whose interest, I hold equally dear, and look upon as mutual and inseparable ; I should have spared YOUR GRACE, as well as myself, the trouble of this address.

But, from YOUR illustrious family and rank ; from YOUR abundant fortune ; from YOUR general

character, and the happy occasion offered; and, above all, from the RICH BLOOD of the MARTYRED CHAMPION of our liberties that flows in your veins; every true lover of his king and country is taught to hope for a speedy restoration of *British* polity, under YOUR GRACE's auspices, in *Ireland*. And I, in particular, am persuaded, that YOUR GRACE must be as averse to the treading in the infamous steps of some of your predecessors there, as a SIDNEY or a RUSSEL must ever detest the ways of a *Strafford* or a *Tyreconnell*.

Lest this may fall under the imputation of being but the common course of dedicatory compliments, the author purposely conceals his person and his real name from YOUR GRACE. Let me just inform you, that he has never learned to prostitute any member, any sense. And of all the privileges of a BRITON, holds most sacred that of speaking his sentiments in TRUTH AND FREEDOM; disdain- ing nothing more, than to speak a language foreign to his heart. What I here say of YOUR GRACE, I really think and believe, and fully hope to be right. Had I had cause to judge otherwise, the weight of your power and fortune joined should not tempt me to address You, in this manner; I had rather have drawn an other character, and have said, as *Nathan* to *David*, THOU ART THE MAN.

The truth is, from a knowledge and reverence of YOUR GRACE's great parentage; from a notion of YOUR affluence and the grandeur and influence of YOUR HIGH STATION; I have formed to myself a character, from which, I must look for every thing reasonable, every thing desirable. I can hope for nothing less from YOUR GRACE's hands, than that all just grounds for complaints of evil government in *Ireland*, which must ever prove a reproach as well as a prejudice to *Britain*, must be removed, by such a just, such a loyal and patriot administration, as may well be expected, if not demanded,

from the DESCENDENT and REPRESENTATIVE of the GREAT LORD RUSSEL. And it is from these assurances alone, that I am induced thus to offer these papers to YOUR GRACE's hands; with no other ambition than that of doing my duty; persuaded that YOUR GRACE WILL GO AND DO LIKEWISE.

We, MY LORD, who are endowed with a just sense of freedom, must with horror see the degenerate state of the nations around us. What are now become of the great commonwealths of GREECE and ROME? They are gone, without leaving so much as a wreck behind! What is FRANCIA now? A gulf of slavery! Where now are her free states and parliaments?---The remnant left is broken, banished or imprisoned, at a single tyrant's nod. But to come nearer, perhaps too near home, what is become of the ELECTIVE, LIMITED CROWNS, the INDEPENDANT SENATES, the FREE ESTATES or DIETS of DANEMARCH and of NORDWEG, that bore such analogy to our form of government?--The very words to express the assemblies of their states, are now hardly known among that wretched, enslaved people. And the civil officer, they instituted, to preside in their councils in peace, and to lead their armies in war; from a limited governor, under the name of a king, acting by, and subject to, popular laws; is now become an ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGN, an HEREDITARY DESPOT, whose will is a law, and whose late creators are now his vassals! Who does not shudder at the shocking thought?

MY LORD, the seeds of good policy and of bad, like those of virtue and of vice, are sown and grow in every soil promiscuous. We cannot boast of being more wise, more virtuous, more free, than the people of those fallen nations sometime were. We can have no better assurance of the permanence of our freedom, than those once had of theirs. It is incumbent on us then, to examine and to watch ourselves; and, if we find among us, any
propensity

propensity to the evils, that overturned those states, to suppress and correct it. In this, I persuade myself, I must be honoured with YOUR GRACE's concurrence. And if I have been so fortunate as to furnish you with a TOUCHSTONE, in the following sheets; my ends are answered.

If then, it were possible, YOUR GRACE should find *Ireland* infected and deformed with the like vices and evil policy with those that first enslaved *Nordweg*, and then overturned the free state of *Danemarch*; can it be doubted that you would, with parental care, with all your might, labour to extirpate, or to stop the progress of, the destructive evils?

Should You find that kingdom and its capital overturned, robbed of the common rights of subjects and of men; could You be at peace, till You saw them reinstated?

Should YOUR GRACE find parliaments in effect made perpetual, and that without any authority of law, in that kingdom; could You be contented, till You found means of restoring them to the primitive institution, at least as near it as the *British* parliament stands?

Should it appear to YOUR GRACE, that either estate of that realm should take upon it a sole legislative power, regardless of the other estates; and that mock-laws, thus made by a faction, should be imposed upon the public; would not YOUR GRACE exert your utmost authority and power to overturn the abominable usurpation? Or,

Should You find a fourth estate setting itself up in the legislature, and that, as it must be whenever it appears, without any warrant from law or common sense; would You not straitway reduce and punish such usurpers, as wisdom and the laws direct?

Should You find the kingdom without a SOVEREIGN JURISDICTION; would You not use all means to supply the capital defect? Or,

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Should You find that seats in both houses of parliament, were as publicly bought and sold as the voices of the members; could YOUR GRACE hesitate one moment at damning the ignominious, destructive commerce?

Should the COMMONS appear to be *no representative* of the people; would not YOUR GRACE disdain to hold a *spurious*, and straitway call a LEGITIMATE PARLIAMENT, which alone can answer the ends of the institution; do honour to the king and his representative, and preserve the sacred rights of the subjects?

Should YOUR GRACE find, that certain *factious associations* in iniquity contended for the rule of a distracted land, and for sharing or abusing the lawful power of the king's vicegerent; would You not rule them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel, fit onely for the most ignoble ends? Would You not wrest all power out of such *vile hands*, and restore the current of public business to its proper channels? Or,

Should You find a number of *drones* in the *bive*, or *leeches* set to suck out the vitals of the consumptive body-politic; should You find the *industrious labouring* under *heavy taxes* to raise *pensions* for the *encouragement* of *indolence* and *sloth*, for *rewarding* the *betrayers* of the public, for *paying* the *wages* of *sin* and *political prostitution*, or at best to *support* the *pride* and *luxury* of *useless externs*, or *enemies*; would not YOUR righteous spirit kindle into rage, and make You straitway curtail such extravagancies? correct such abominable abuses?

And, tho' You should find, that ever so many of YOUR predecessors should have transplanted the follies and vices, moral and political, of one of these kingdoms into the other, cherishing and propagating them by their *excellencies* examples; or, should engage in their service and train, the most
infamous

infamous profligates, adjudged criminals, disgraced, abandoned sharpers or gamblers ; filling all places in the church and state with such despicable reprobates ; or giving them pensions on an overburdened establishment ; who can suspect or conceive YOUR GRACE capable of countenancing, or even of being in any measure influenced by, such shameful and destructive examples ? Is it not rather to be presumed, that, if such obprobrious, such deadly incumbrances should be found, precipitating the ruin and confirming the infamy of the state ; YOUR GRACE, ever far from increasing the number, would act the part of a good gardener, and lop off such useless suckers ? or, like a prudent surgeon, quickly cut off such mortified limbs, such consuming excrescences, to save a wretched life ? Who dare think otherwise of YOUR GRACE ? Or,

Should You find, that any *lord lieutenant* could have been so wicked as to set out upon his government with the *avowed purposes* of ruling, by *bribing one half of the parliament* highly, with the *public money*, and *oppressing and punishing the other most severely* and arbitrarily ; must not YOUR GRACE and all good men look upon loyalty to such a viceroy, even to such a king, if such there were, as treason against the state ? as a revolt against laws, morals, and common sense ? Suppose YOURSELF then, MY LORD, unking'd for a moment, and imagine YOURSELF a subject, or a member of the parliament, of *Ireland* ; could YOUR GRACE's heart know peace, or YOUR temples taste of rest, till You found means to cut off the worse than barbarous vicetyrant ? or to brand him with indelible infamy, black as his atrocious crime ? I know You could not. And would not YOUR GRACE have every subject, if ever this should happen, follow YOUR great example ?

In short, MY LORD, should YOUR GRACE by this TOUCHSTONE discover any of the evils that overturned

turned other free states, raise their destructive heads, and make a progress among a people, under YOUR government and protection ; is it to be doubted that You should exert YOUR utmost power and means to obviate, to stop the progress of, or to remedy such evils ?

I am persuaded, YOUR GRACE must ever do what wisdom, honour, and the laws direct, whether these matters be found thus or otherwise. YOUR ILLUSTRIOUS NAME, assuredly, can never be abused to give sanction to any degree of iniquity or illicit administration. And You will therefore set YOURSELF to oppose and reform whatever abuses or mal-administrations of government, YOUR GRACE shall at any time find threatening the peace, freedom, and happiness of either kingdom.

While YOUR GRACE determines, as no doubt You must, thus firmly to govern upon the principles of *British* policy ; you can never need the precarious services of *sordid mercenaries* in your councils, the shameful tools of some of YOUR *predecessors*. Nor can those principles be shaken in YOUR GRACE's hands, much less *wrested* out of YOUR hands, as they were out of those of some of YOUR *predecessors*, by the *illicit associations* of *disappointed, slavish* agents in parliament. There are those, that still retain sense enough of virtue, honour, and the laws, and love and duty enough to their country, to their king and his representative, to support constitutional measures, at the expence of their fortunes or their lives. If such men be not in parliament, they should be there, and must be, whenever the people are encouraged or permitted to chuse real, instead of nominal, representatives. Among those, YOUR GRACE can never want an invincible guard to YOUR person, And by these, You will ever find it easy to fulfil HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS INTENTIONS, in as-
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fering and supporting the CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS of a long-abused, yet brave and loyal people.

Let me now, MY LORD, take my leave.—As it must be presumed, YOUR GRACE must ever aim at, and having obtained it, must ever hold fast, the thing that is right; I flatter myself, this humble attempt, to serve the KING and people of GREAT BRITAIN, by vindicating the rights of his MAJESTY'S crown and subjects in IRELAND, and to conduct YOUR GRACE to the paths that lead to the temples of HONOUR and IMMORTALITY, will be taken in good part, as it is intended by him, who, upon these presumptions and these principles alone, thinks it an honour to subscribe himself,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S

Most faithful friend

and

From the
METROPOLIS,
Sept. 7, 1757.

Most devoted, humble servant,

BRITANNO-HIBERNUS.

P. S. As it is wished to make this a compleat *Touchstone*; it is lamented that the history and character of the last viceroy of *Nordweg* could not properly be brought within the compass of this detail: these must come in, in another part, where they shall be drawn in proper colours and a fair light.

N O R.

NORTHERN REVOLUTIONS.

PART II.

To the METROPOLITES.

LETTER I.

IF you have read the preceding part of this work, you must have seen that *Danemarch* lived longer, in a more deeply distempered state, than any other nation of the earth, whether antient or modern. You saw her kings, for a series of reigns, and while they yet confessed the regal office but elective, continually, assiduously grasping at power for themselves, and securing it to their successors. You saw them look upon themselves as monarchs, though yet only at the head of a limited popular government, and act as if they were of divine appointment and hereditary, though they held their thrones but by the apparent consent of the people. You saw them first forget, then contemn, and at length trample underfoot, the sacred and inviolable principles of the institution of the regal office. You saw them at last set up a power opposite to, and destructive of, the rights and liberties of the people, to which the name of *Borsug*, or prerogative was sometime given. To support this power, you saw the kings of falling *Danemarch*
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have recourse to the most illegal and unjust artifices, to all the most wicked projects, the most horrid devices, that the supreme council of hell, big with the destruction of mankind, could dictate. You saw these shameless potentates, in time, wage a continual combat with the very people, that in every sense supported them. You saw the royal spend-thrifts wantonly waste and alienate the crown lands, the sacred and unalienable patrimony of the regal office. You saw them then forced to depend for support solely on the people, and yet squander with as lavish an hand as ever. You saw the money thus drawn from the people, used in the subduing, in the destroying of that very people, in bribing not only their foreign, but what was still more destructive, their home-born, enemies; in paying slaves and profligates, prostitutes, of all denominations. You saw all men of sense and virtue fly the court, to make room for such as were alone qualified for the favourites of corrupt princes, the most thorough-paced panders and parasites. Of such a state of royalty, *Britons*, eminently virtuous, wise and free, can hardly conceive an idea: yet such, by corruption, now became the regal state of *Danemarch*!

You saw the senate, once the delegate council of the states for the crown, now by the crown alone nominated, in *Danemarch*.——Such as the king was, such were his senate. And, if by any chance, a good man remained, not yet struck off the list, you might have seen him effectually laid aside; for, from the moment he was found to dare to dissent in any point from the prince and his creatures, from that instant, he was either struck off the roll of senators, or never called to give his council. Such a senate as this, must have ever been prepared to assert and maintain the most boundless, the most lawless prerogatives, the pleasure, of the prince; they shared his first favours and in time set up a sovereign jurisdiction;
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sovereign, indeed, it might well be called; because they knew no law, but the will of their sovereign. This was carried to a still greater pitch, in the more remote states: in *Nordweg*, the senate set up a power equal, or rather opposite, to that of the diet; they altered the bills of each of the states of the nation at pleasure, and even framed bills and sent them as the bills of the states to be approved by the king and his senate in *Danemarch*. Supreme evils, to which these happy realms are strangers.

If you have been attentive to the first part of this work, you must have seen nobility made the wages of iniquity. Fools and knaves of fortune were alone deemed fit for these stations: the former were fit to do as they were bid, the latter to conduct them and perpetrate the foulest deeds for pay. The peers were so multiplied, that the chief places of the clergy, and burghers, fell into the hands of the needy younger children of the nobles, who thus in time got great power into their hands, looking upon the rest of the states as their dependants and vassals, and so treating them accordingly; till these, upon an occasion, hereafter to be mentioned, became desperate, and gave up their rights solely to the king, naturally preferring one tyrant to many. This curse of peerage fell first and most heavily on *Nordweg*; where, not only every slave of fortune was made a peer, upon purchasing it with money or servitude, but blank patents were given to certain concubines of the crown, who sold them for a small sum, besides what was paid in offices, under the title of fees of honour, to any body. Thus peers were multiplied for *Nordweg* beyond all measure: many of these had neither a foot of land, nor were ever seen in *Nordweg*. They were titular peers, with peerless titles. They had neither rank nor privilege, above a commoner, in *Danemarch*.

They served, in tinselled crowds, to swarm about a corrupt court, or to lessen the dignity and weight of the commons, in *Danemarch*; by getting themselves chosen into that estate, by the force of bribes. How superlatively happy are these realms, in which no such abuse or confusion of nobility could ever yet take place!

We must not forget the state of the clergy. They were ever but men. And while virtue was the mover of all preferments in the state, the clergy, it must be confessed, were eminently virtuous: though their virtue at best seemed to be only founded in their ambition and pride. They formerly, freely chose their representatives in the second estate, in respect to virtue, sense and learning purely, while these had any weight in the direction of the springs of government. But, when bad princes had corrupted the other estates, and openly avowed iniquity to be the measures of administration; men went into the church no longer from conscientious motives, and gentlemen in general despised the reverend gown. Now, divinity, as it was yet called, became a most base and sordid craft, a low and despicable trade. The gift of some of the first dignities was arrogated by the crown; some livings were vested in lay-hands, who openly exposed them to sale; and though an oath was imposed to prevent the clergy from purchasing, yet it seemed as if only calculated for the more certain damnation of that order; who, in spite to the most solemn oath, as openly purchased their places, as any laymen did civil or military employments. From the sole appointment of the king, the people could expect no better priests than peers; they were much of a piece. The purchasers could not be better. And hence, the clerical office fell into such low and infamous hands, that no gentleman, whose fortune

was not desperate, would suffer his son to go into holy orders, as it was yet called, and then, only upon having a great living or a bishoprick secured to him.

It has been known, that when a great man has had two creatures to provide for, and a small military office and an ecclesiastical benefice of considerable value, with high prospects, were in his gift; the favourites, each contending for the genteel, the military employment, have cast lots to determine who should be forced to degrade himself, by going into the church.

It is easy hence to conceive why, and how, this order, with all its dignities, was bestowed upon the most base, corrupt and ignorant slaves, that could be found. Real footmen, indeed, were not often put into orders; but footmen's children, in great families, were generally provided for in the church. Excisemen were seen ordained, and holy orders soon became as common wages of prostitution, as any other in the degenerate state. Who can be at a loss to judge, what representatives such men must have chosen, what representatives they could have deserved. They bought and sold their elections, as well as their ordinations, and they bought votes in the diet, with intent to sell them to the best bidder. And sell them indeed they did. But, as the crown most wanted and best could purchase their venal voices, they were ever at his disposal. So that he never could assume a power, that had not straightway, the sanction of the church. Whatever poor security, these, from their multitude, might have given for the freedom of the state, all means were removed by lessening their numbers, giving the bishops only, who were mostly appointed by the crown, seats in the diet, and incorporating them with the peers, whose pride and power cast these upskip lords at a great distance; except while they proved

proved subservient to the purposes of their principals. How thankful should we of these happy kingdoms be, who never knew such kings, or such clergy, as these?

Every abuse of this kind, which at any time took place in *Danemarch*, readily found footing, and was further extended, in *Nordweg*, whose bishops were generally the offcast of the clergy of *Danemarch*.

This glaring degeneracy gave a man of spirit and humour, which in those days happened to arise in *Nordweg*, an handle to tell the king, one day in his levee at *Copenhagen*, talking of some of his *Nordwegian* bishops, 'that the people of *Nordweg* were well persuaded of the wisdom and paternal care of his majesty in the choice of bishops for their church; but that they had much cause to complain of the guides, who travelled with the pious fathers, that bore the royal patents: for, those villains, upon finding these reverend sages, true successors of the primitive fishers, men of mean birth and great obscurity, hardly ever failed of murdering the holy patentees; and then, taking the patents and personating the murdered prelates, were easily inducted into their sees, as well as to their seats in the diet.' And confirmed the truth of the severe sarcasm, with assuring the king, 'that the *Danish* bishops, set upon the benches in *Nordweg*, were in point of sense, learning, education and morals, no better than the postmen or carriers in *Danemarch*.'

A plain instance of this despicable state of the clergy is seen in the last primate of *Nordweg*, appointed in the reign of *Christiern IV.* as an exception serves to prove a general rule. The primates of this kingdom for ages past were men of the meanest birth, education and capacity; men who never kept the company of gentlemen, before they were made bishops; unless they had happened to be country school-masters,

masters, or servile chaplains in some rich families. These were the fittest men to send into an enslaved country. One of this cast was usually promoted to the primacy, and in the absence of the viceroy, was usually made one of the regency in *Nordweg*; being judged the most likely to be faithful to their trust, servile to their principals. And so they generally proved, till they were overawed or over-reached by the splendor, power or craft of those that were joined with them in the government, which were generally the mareschal or high chancellor, and the Haupt, or president of the chamber or house of commons.

The last primate appointed in this reign was *Beefingstein*, by birth and education, by sense and learning, a compleat gentleman. This may partly be seen by his entering into the church, through necessity or chance, not choice; as we shall just now explain. He spent a handsome patrimony in the company of young men of the best families and fortunes of *Danemarch*. He made connexions with them at the university, which continued his whole life, and strengthened them, by travelling and seeing most of the courts of *Europe*, with others.

After a tour of this kind, with a young nobleman of parts, he returned to *Danemarch*, an accomplished gentleman, but a bankrupt. The count of *Dorensaght*, the father of this young nobleman was appointed viceroy of *Nordweg*, as his son returned from his travels. The count was a man of sense and discernment, and hardly wanted the recommendation of his son to induce him to take the young *Beefingstein* into his train, with intent to provide for him in *Nordweg*. But, he did not take him alone; men going in that great employment were usually incumbered with attendants of this kind. But there was but this and an other well-bred

bred young gentleman, of the name of *Gluscbingburgh*, that demanded any degree of the count's intimate regards.

Soon after the count entered upon his government, a commission in the army and a church benefice became vacant and in his gift. Now, these two young gentlemen were intent upon genteel civil or good military employments. But, the count, unwilling to let slip a favourable opportunity of doing something for these deserving favourites, called them and told them what he had in his power, and recommended to them to accept of what offered, determining among themselves, who should take the gown and who the sword.

Each was willing to go into the army, but both abhorred the church. Neither was in a condition to decline the offer, and so they resolved to determine their fate, like criminals reserved for mercy, by the die. The highest cast was to win the sword, the lowest, to lose it and fall into the church. *Gluscbingburgh* cast first and threw seven. *Beefingstein*, with fear and trembling, threw next; and, when he found his cast but five, cursed and swore he had lost; but not being enabled by fortune to refuse any thing that offered, resolved to accept of it, if his patron press'd, which he accordingly did.

The consequence of this was, that while *Gluscbingburgh* got no higher than a subaltern, *Beefingstein* was a general officer in the church militant, a bishop. And before the one got above the rank of a field officer, the other got to be the commander in chief in the church, an archbishop and a primate.

It was hardly to be imagined, that this young gentleman, well versed in every branch of polite literature, and polished by a long intimacy with the best bred men of his age and time in *Danemarch*, should

should immediately break off his connexions with the class he so lately left, and all at once, put on the formal gravity and authority, affected by the generality of his robe. He justly judged there could be no offence in keeping company with gentlemen of the class he lately left. He assumed no pomp, was easy of access, affable and courteous to all. Ready to do every act of humanity and charity to those that needed them. His table was plenty and his house open to all his acquaintance, and strangers were not unwelcome. In short, his enemies, which in time were unaccountably multiplied, were, at the height of their malevolence, forced to confess, there never was known a man more fully to discharge the several functions of his vocation than young *Beefingstein* : He was a good preacher, a good neighbour, a good friend, a good patron, a good landlord, a good prelate ; nor have any of his enemies been able to charge him with a single fault, a neglect or an oversight, in any of these duties, during his whole life : this no man dared to do, because his general conduct must publicly give such defamers the lie. See *Carlo-wingius, von des Bischoffen*.

But, other opportunities and means were found to blast this gentleman's reputation, in an instance and manner, against which it was impossible to take any kind of defence.

For ages past, the primate was always one of the regency of *Nordweg*, and from his rank, the first in commission. This primate looked narrowly into the affairs of government, and soon became master of the subject. He now saw, that his principal, who was also his great patron, to whom he owed all he possessed, was but a sort of titular viceroy, thro' the crafty influence of the Haupt, or president of the commons, who, inconsistently worming himself into the ministry, managed all the preceding viceroys of his time

and their substitutes, in the regency. *Beefingstein* thought it his duty to keep up the influence and authority of his principal, according to the received modes of government in that corrupted country. And therefore, entered into associations and formed connexions with men, likely to serve the cause.

The Haupt, *Bolestadt*, could not bear this; and starting some popular question, in which, neither *Beefingstein* nor his principal, by their instructions from the ministry of *Danemarch*, could join; this furnished him with means to make both the count and primate hateful to the public, particularly the latter, on whom they charged the basest crime, that ever debased human nature, without the shadow of grounds. In this, some of the invidious brethren of the robe joined; while the populace, ever more ready to swallow and to propagate evil than good reports, with foul mouths threw out every infamous abuse of this injured man, whose sole crime was too zealous, perhaps too implicit, an attachment to the interest and to the instructions of his master.

The popular cries at length reached the throne. So that the king, who did not yet think it right to break thro' forms with a people so obsequious to his will, as till now, to be ever ready to do any thing required by him or his ministers; thought it best to send over a new viceroy, who, to restore the Haupt, *Bolestadt* and his party to their usual temper and obsequiousness, found it necessary, however unjust, to leave the primate out of the regency. Such was the treatment given the first gentleman that had for some ages sat in that see! Thus was his gratitude and zealous attachment to his patron, and strict fidelity to his charge, rewarded in *Nordweg*! Thus were gentlemen found as unfit for the church, as prelates or priests are for civil government, in free states. The shining ornaments, that now do
honour

honour to the holy church, as well as to their sacred sovereign in *Ireland*, give that happy people cause of great exultation and gratitude to their prince, for blessing them with such worthy pastors, such pious prelates, as now watch over their spiritual and temporal concerns, looking narrowly to the very fleeces of their flocks, in that flourishing kingdom.

If you take but a cursory review of the state of the commons of *Danemarch*, in the days of her delusion, you will find them much of a piece with the rest of her states; mean, despicable, dependant, servile. Corruption had long effaced all sense of morality and public spirit among them. They were left poor, in comparison to what they formerly had been, by the introduction of luxury, which taught them wants, unknown to their moderate and frugal ancestors. They had totally forgot, that they were the creatures, the chosen delegates, the servants of the people, from whom they once received wages, to compensate their expences and troubles in attending the diet. These considerations were now entirely laid aside. The two estates of burghers and peasants were now, sometime, united into one house of commons. Into this, no one, it is true, was admitted without an election, or the form of an election. But, there was hardly a stad or burgh, or any district, that had a right to return a member, that was not made a property of, by the crown, by some lord, or accidentally remaining rich commoner: for, tho' being a commoner, for some years, seldom failed of impoverishing a man, that did not enrich himself by getting into public employments; yet, some few, by the death of parents or relations, and more by offices and pensions, got rich, and for a while, remained in the commons, till the crown thought fit and necessary for its purposes to enoble them. And as faction prevailed in the house, the commons

took upon them to qualify or disqualify any man for election, or to confirm, or reject, or even to make elections; regardless of all laws and the rights of the legal electors.

However, men of desperate fortunes and adventurous minds, were the most solicitous to get into the diet. And, as he that could get the greatest number of commoners elected or nominated into the diet, was sure of the first or greatest employment at court; so he, who was able to speak the best, to make the most insidious declamations in the house, and that was the most artful, hardy, thorough-paced, the most compleat villain, in the house, was sure of being made the first minister of state, the governor of the commons.

It was not unusual for some of these, upon being appointed to the prime ministerial office, which often eclipsed the regal, to write circular letters to the other commons, importing, that the management and conduct of the house of commons, with an office, attended with the keeping of the purse-strings of the public treasury, was committed to their hands, and therefore, hoping for the attendance and concurrence of the addressed members, upon assurance of a share in the spoils. Such letters have by accident fallen into mistaken hands, or sometimes miscarried, and been produced and proved on a minister in the house. Yet, he had so effectually secured his party, that a few angry complainants of such a violation of the privilege of the members, and such a dangerous abuse of the public, could not get such a minister disturbed, much less punished. Think what would be the consequence, could such a thing be but attempted, in *Britain* or in *Ireland*!

As the encouragement from the crown, to active as well as to passive commoners, was very great, as it always secured to a certain considerable number,
always

always enough to make a majority upon any question, great employments, or pensions, for them and their kindred or friends; the wages of the several electors were set at naught, and candidates now found it worth the while to buy the votes of those, who once paid the elected for accepting their service.

Elections now became a trade, universally. Fortunate was the man, that was absolute, or could direct the votes, in any stadt or burgh, or in any district of the country. Well was it with him, and happy sure was he. And having a vote here, was not only in law, but also in fact, a freehold; that is, it was worth more or less in proportion to the number of voters for the place, who frequently got from five to ten, twenty or thirty crowns each, for their votes, and some that cunningly stuck out, or kept off, till votes became wanted of either side, often got as far as an hundred or more crowns for a single vote. And these crowns were of no less value in *Danemarch*, in those days, than guineas are now with us. Thus, every man learned the price of the place, he purposed to represent, before he offered himself a candidate. So that the price of every elector, from the highest to the lowest, was known to those that dealt in the election trade.

Then, the minister, the governor or manager of the commons, always cast his eye upon the candidate. And, if full assurance of his disposition to answer all the purposes of the minister, were not given; the purse-strings of the treasury were thrown loose, the public treasure brought forth, and profusely lavished, in auctioning the election. So that if the court-opposed candidate carried his point, the victory cost him so dear, that he was easily bought and secured by a pension ever after. And thus the manager never failed of securing a majority, one way or other, in the house.

house. How should these countries exult, where such corruption never was, nor ever can be, known!

The minister of *Danemarch*, it is true, was not always secure of his men. The members soon saw, that opposition alone gave them weight. Therefore, such as were not taken into the minister's service, and gratified to their mind, frequently revolted, and shewed themselves according to their different talents. Some could say ay or no, as they were bid : These could hope only for small places or pensions. Some could make short motions, or second those of others : These were entitled to genteel employments about the court. Some could read and write ; take orations out of books ; form speeches from them ; get such speeches upon particular occasions by heart, and in the house, speak them, like bad actors upon the stage : These were qualified for secretaries of state, and for some embassies, if they could speak *French*. To these, they in their turns succeeded, or were given hopes of succeeding. And never failed of being admitted to the most honourable intimacies of the senate, with or without pensions, as their fortunes required it ; but, were called to attend in that council, only as the minister judged expedient. Some there were that could speak artfully and powerfully, making all the house, and those without doors, believe them wise and great, unalterably honest and true to their trust. Out of this class, the first and every other great minister must be appointed : for, the crown thought it not right to break with the commons ; well seeing, that he could not fail in due time of gaining their sanction, under the form of law, to confirm and perpetuate any tyranny, he or his ministers could devise.

Thus continued the affairs of the commons for some time, just before the dissolution of the state of *Danemarch*. There was scarce an elector in the kingdom,

that did not sell his vote, for some private consideration. He could not therefore have a representative. There was not a commoner, whether burgher or peasant, that did not one way or other purchase his seat, or that had it not given to him, by the minister or some other superior, upon certain terms. If he bought his seat, he could be no man's representative: the seat became his private property. And he might make the most of his bargain. If he accepted the seat upon terms; he was not free, and must therefore follow his leaders, as they listed.

This was the sad state of *Danemarch*, before the fall. Every thing, every man bore his stated price. Public offices were set up in *Copenhagen*, where the rates of individual, or whole communities of, electors were ascertained to any purchaser. And the price of the commoner was laid down at court, according to his qualifications as above. Church-livings and even bishopricks, as well as nobility, were as openly set to sale. While the purchaser was taught, to what his vote or speech in the diet may intitle him, according to his qualifications, interests, connexions, &c. Such were the states of the electors of the commons, of the clergy, nobles and king of *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*: From such a king, peers, clergy, commoners, and electors, good Lord deliver *Great Britain* and flourishing *Ireland*!

L E T T E R II.

IF among the few of my happy countrymen, that can spare time from their pleasures to read or think with the least degree of attention upon any serious matter; the former letters on this subject were perused, and with this short recapitulation, compared; it would appear, that the head and
members

members of the state of *Danemarch* were now become so corrupt, that the principles of the institution of every part of the legislature were now so perverted, so reversed, that what was intended for the source of life and health to the community, became its bane. The father lived upon the blood of the children. The children spoiled, plundered and devoured one another. The king that was to govern mildly by laws, became a tyrant of the worst and most dangerous kind, a tyrant under the sanction of the law, a tyrant not to be legally opposed. The law, that was the subjects defence, his best inheritance, became a stumbling block and a pit for his destruction, by the perversion of the legislature, and the corruption of the dispensers and executioners of the law. The sources were polluted, the streams by them supplied were foul of course. The diet, the commons in particular, the great safe-guard, to which the people trusted for the security of themselves and latest posterity, and that, from the first foundation of the constitution ; now, forsook and betrayed their masters and their ward, led the people into irretrievable slavery, disgrace and shame ; while they were thoughtless of aught but their pleasures, and each was engaged in a private, self-interested scheme, separate from, if not opposite to, that of the public.

Before I attempt to amuse you with the particular narration of the subversion of the antient gothic government of *Danemarch*, let me take up a little of your time from other trifling, by giving you the history and characters of some persons, who played principal parts in the dismal tragedies of *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*.

As *Christian IV.* grew old, he grew avaricious, and seemed more solicitous to gratify this passion, than to compleat his schemes of overturning the constitution.

constitution. It is probable he judged the great change could not be wrought, without scattering among his partisans, the treasure, which he had, with much pains and care, not without shamefully curtailing the ordinary expences of his household, amassed. He reigned longer than most of his predecessors. About the latter part of his life, he was often involuntarily engaged in wars, which his penury would not permit him to support; for, rather than miss the opportunities of heaping up treasure, which peace gave; tho' his enemies allow him to have had as much personal bravery as any man; he chose to patch up a peace at any rate, or would content himself with a convention, a suspension of arms, or a neutrality, tho' it afforded no better than a palliative prospect, rather than be interrupted by the most honourable and glorious war in the favourite task of filling his coffers. By this means, he gave the enemies of *Danemarch* every advantage over him; and he was known to bear the greatest insults, and to put up with the grossest oppressions, even the robberies, of the subjects of *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*, before he could be persuaded to wage war in their defence.

Whenever he was forced to enter into war, he did it with so much parsimony, reluctance, and delay, that his fleets and armies were worse manned, equipped and supplied, and slower than ever before was known; and because he would not properly pay for intelligence, the enemy generally gained all advantages of him. So that when he declared an offensive war, he was so ill prepared, that he was forced to content himself with acting meanly on the defensive: while the enemy, taking the advantage of these weaknesses, insulted him often into war; frightened him with fears of an invasion, took his frontiers, destroyed the national trade, and after

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wasting the public treasure, or running them immensely into debt, forced him to make a shameful and destructive peace.

One object only seemed to ingross his care, and make him sometimes risk the safety of his person. He never loved nor could love the *Danes*, and he heartily hated and despised the *Nordwegians*; tho' they were the best affected subjects he had. The object of his political regard was the dutchy of *Holstein*. There, he was absolute in every sense; there, hereditary sovereign. And had he been able, with ease and at a small expence, to make himself despotic in his regal dominions, they might hope to have got some share in his regards.

His affection for *Holstein* made him run all risks to go thither, even in the midst of wars, and to throw himself into dangers, he could never think of hazarding for *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*. The utmost necessities for his presence in *Danemarch*, could not keep him from exposing his person to the perils of the sea and the ambuscades of enemies, to fly to the defence of his threatned dutchy. This has more than once cost him dear. He lost the affections of his *Danish* subjects by it; but that he did not much value, as they were under the direction of the diet, and the diet entirely under his. He was once surrounded by the enemy, and most narrowly escaped by the bravery of some of the *Danish* and *Nordwegian* armies, that attended him. Yet, when he has judged his favourite dutchy in danger, while that with *Danemarch* was engaged in one common, confederate war; he has made a neutrality with the enemy for the dutchy, regardless of his kingdoms. And so gave incontestible proof at once, that he held one people much dearer than the other, and two offices incompatible with each other: yet made the greater yield to the most inconsiderable. Who could

could controul, or find fault with this conduct?— The bishops and the multiplied peers were his creatures ; the people sold their voices to the commons, and the voices of the commons were purchased, tho' with the public treasure, by the king.

His penury towards the decline of life, became so excessive, that he curtailed many of the inferior officers of his court. At one time, none but members of the diet of the first rank, held an employment entire. Almost every body besides such, had a partner in the profits of his office ; and this partner was often but some nominal tool, whose name was used to skreen the receiving the pay for the king's private purse. This could only be remedied in the diet. But the diet now belonged by purchase to the king.

This avaricious disposition, induced him to neglect all his fine palaces in the country, and to let them run into ruins ; because he would not be at the expence of keeping tables there for his courtiers, according to antient custom. Cooks however were a part of the antient establishment. And cooks were therefore named. But, they were kept on board-wages, for the first time, such a thing was ever heard of in *Danemarch*. He would not allow himself to supply the place of furniture, worn out in his inhabited palace with new. But stripped one palace always to keep the necessary furniture in another. And even the meat left at his own table, was sent to a person, who contracted for it, and publicly bought and sold the provisions, which formerly were given to feed the indigent.

Nor did his penury stop here. A mercenary disposition seized the whole court, from the highest to the lowest. The king's palace was not only a cook's shop, where provisions were dressed and sold, to one man only, but wine was publicly sold there without excise or licence, which was said to be now

saved out of the established allowance for the household, as it was formerly consumed in hospitable house-keeping. Then, every thing about the court, the king's person not excepted, was let out for shew; that is, any person who had a curiosity, might purchase a sight of any thing in or about the court. The house and all its furniture were shewn in this manner, and printed bills were handed publicly about, enumerating the parts and value of the crown jewels, and setting forth at what price they were hired out for shew. There was also a price fixed on the sight of the king's collection of wild beasts, which did not exceed a few lions, wolves, tigers, monkeys, and bears. And the rate of the sight of every apartment of the castle and armory was in the like manner fixed. These shewed the genius and disposition of the court and the members of which it was composed. Mercenary masters must make mercenary servants.

He quarrelled with his eldest son, only for a pretext to keep him at a distance, and to stint him in his allowance. By which means, he drove the prince to the disagreeable necessity of borrowing money; for which, he was unhappily obliged to some of the worst enemies of his house.

These things considered, it is no wonder the king was at one time worth upwards of twenty million of crowns, while the nation was about five times that sum in debt, the greatest part of which was one way or other contracted for the defence of *Holstein*, and the support of the family of a king, who hoarded up this quantity of treasure, regardless of the debts and distresses of the people.

It can not then be wondered, that this king outlived the affections of all his people. Notwithstanding his partiality to his *Holsteiners*, they saw his love was of the selfish, sordid cast, and they could

not regard him. And his contempt of the people and the laws of *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*, made all thinking men drop their regards to him; and instead of loving him, as they once did with filial piety, the most he could now expect from the best affected, was as much love as the law required, no more; while his sordid penury made even his mercenaries sooner than ordinary forsake him, and caused the whole populace at length most heartily to despise him. They forgot how mercenary, how venal they were at home; yet saw this hateful vice deform the majesty of their sovereign.

He was the first king of *Danemarch*, that was seen in public, especially in going to the diet, without the acclamations of the people. This unaffected mark of public regard, he possessed for a while. But, as soon as his disposition was known to the multitude, all public marks of respect ceased, and the guards alone secured him from insults. Not that the corrupt populace was sensible enough to be affected at his overturning and perverting the diet, but because his revenues did not circulate in the usual channel. He could not help being mortified by this neglect; and upon expressing it to his minions, they amused him with assigning some idle cause; assuring him it would never be the case again. So, to verify their words, and to keep him in temper, for their private purposes, the chief minister and others in the secret, ever after hired a mob to huzza for the king, whenever he appeared in public. This was well known; for no porter could be had for the ordinary business of the town, whenever the king went to the diet. And the hirelings made no secret of their engagements—But, gave it as an apology for their absenting themselves from their ordinary vocations, that they were obliged to attend the court; that was, to huzza the king to keep him in good
good

good humour, and lessen his desire to go to *Holstein*: for which, they declared their pay, and whence it came. So that it was no longer a secret.

Thus the poor, wretched king lived too long. He laid the foundation for the destruction of the national constitution, indeed raised the superstructure to some height. But, whether his avarice growing predominant, or his quarrel with his son, or both conspired to divert him from compleating his purposes, is not easily determined. Certain it is, he left it to his successor to finish, and died as he had long lived the most despicable, the most despised king, that ever disgraced the *Danish* throne. Thus, a bad king makes bad subjects, and corrupt subjects can never hope to have a good king.

He was at war in his turn with all the neighbouring powers; but never was enough respected, to have one firm allie, or to have made one advantageous or honourable peace. The power, with whom he kept longest in alliance, was the emperor. But, against him, he was forced into a confederate war, which cost his subjects much wealth, and the king, his faith and honour. After exhausting the wealth of the subjects; after stopping the sources of their wealth, by the loss of trade and commerce; and after making himself and his people appear contemptible in the eyes of the world, he was forced to patch up an inglorious peace; after which, he lived in retirement and obscurity, conducted like a child in leading-strings, by his ministers and a favourite concubine, and at last fell into a profound sleep, in the year 1640, from whence he will hardly awake till the last trump sounds.

LETTER

L E T T E R III.

DURING this despicable reign, there were many outrages committed upon the people. Little offenders, thieves and petty robbers never escaped; while great offenders, ravishers, murderers, and robbers of the public, were never brought to punishment, unless they were mean and poor. The populace were disarmed under pretence of preserving the game for their lords. Marriages between the nobility and commonalty were rendered impracticable, and those of the commonalty with one another were laid under difficulties and restraints. But, as if it were for the open encouragement of whoredom, hospitals were built for the delivery of pregnant women, and for the reception and support of infants, without distinction.

Soldiers were slaves for life. Which made it difficult to get men to enlist. And the king did not dare to trust to the raising the powers of the country in the militia, according to antient custom. These put him under the necessity of pressing men into the service. Hence freemen were taken by force, fettered, dragged to noisome gaols, regardless of the laws, and the cries of wives and children, and compelled to list as soldiers for life. What was to be expected from such armies?

The sailors were in as bad a situation: they were kept, while wanted, and then left to starve for want of employment, whenever peace was made. These poor men besides, were hardly ever paid above once in several years, and then so badly, that half their pay was sunk between the officers employed in paying it. And that of those that died or were killed in the service, was hardly ever to be recovered by their widows, orphans, or other heirs.

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These difficulties made sailors avoid the royal navy at the peril of starving. They were yet the bravest people in the realm, and had long been justly deemed the support of the nation. But, the bad returns made for their service, made them generally decline and avoid it. Here again, power was stretched to inflame all this class of men. They were seized, as well by land as by sea, like criminals, and by an armed force, pressed into the service; regardless of law, of the common rights of men, and the lamentations of their forlorn families. And thus was the fleet to be manned, and hardly otherwise to be supplied, the last years of this most hateful reign.

The flattering historians of this reign, writing in the life time of the king, ascribed to him wisdom and every princely and private virtue. Being talked to on the posture of affairs, all men were forced to confess that there was not the least appearance of common sense or common honesty in any part of the administration: all was one great continued lie: It was evident, that the king peremptorily refused to pay his father's debts, and but tardily and ungracefully paid his own. That knaves of lowest degree were loaded with titles and preferments; while men that dared to speak truth, in the senate or the diet, were sure of being discarded, and becoming the king's greatest aversion. It was likewise no secret, that he never fulfilled his word in any thing, beyond granting a title, to any man. If he promised a place, he was ever found to fail. Yet, were men perverse or foolish enough to impute all these weaknesses and palpable breaches of the royal word to the ministers; who in some instances imposed upon the king, depriving him of the use of his common senses; in others, restrained him, most insolently telling him, that he must not give
such

such or such an employment or commission, as he promised; but, that, if he expected the business of the crown should be carried on to any purpose, it must be conferred on lord such a one or commoner such a one, or on some friend or dependant of theirs, to silence their opposition in the diet, and let the measures of the administration be effectually compleated.

Was there any thing like good sense or integrity in all this? Yet such were the measures of the administration during this whole reign. And so despicable did these make the king in the end, that before he died, he could not get a person of any distinction to accept of the most important employment about the court. And it was no wonder, for such unsteadiness, such frequent revolutions were never known in the affairs of the *Ottoman Porte*, as in the court of *Danemarch*: to-day, upon the remonstrance of some favourite slave, one minister was taken into place; to-morrow, he was discarded, and somebody, whose countenance the king liked better, was taken into his place. And perhaps the next day, hearing of some clamours raised in the diet, that threatened to unravel his secret schemes, the king has been frightened into taking into his greatest intimacy, in one of the first employments, a man that of all others he hated the most violently and implacably. This has he been forced to do, when the member, knowing his own value, has been able to lay down, to prescribe to the king, the terms upon which alone he would enter into the service. Yet, when such a minister has laboured to restore long-confounded matters to rights, and conducted himself, in all appearance, more to the honour of his master and the general good and satisfaction of the people, than any man that had gone before him; the king, upon finding a factious, crafty commoner able to create new disturbances, and to lessen the in-

fluence of this apparently honest and approved minister, in the diet; has as precipitately dismissed, as he took him into employment.—Now, had any thing like this ever happened in *Britain*, under any of our kings; who could be found to flatter such a king with the false attributes of wisdom or virtue? Surely, not one. Yet, such was the king of *Danemarch* that laid the plan for overthrowing the liberties of his kingdoms, though he wanted fortitude to carry his schemes fully into execution. And yet this king was by his flatterers proclaimed most wise and virtuous, in *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*, during his life. Abandoned slaves!—How unhappy is the fate of kings, who seldom know better friends than false, delusive, destructive flatterers!

When this was the character of the first mover of the great wheel of government, it is easy to judge who were the fittest for his ministry and favourites. When the head of any state is thus corrupt and despicable, it is easy to conceive what the members must universally be. But, bad as the head appears, his substitutes, and the members remotest from it, were still worse in all respects, than the original or those nearer the source of motion.

This has ever been the case in all governments, as well antient as modern. Though tyranny was devised at the head, it was found safest to make the experiment and introduce it at a distance. Therefore, the most remote territories have generally been the first enslaved. And if the same schemes that succeeded in enslaving the remoter members, were not immediately, successfully transplanted, as was generally the case, to the capital; yet they never failed of creeping, like a slow, but sure pestilence, and seizing the head and vital parts of the constitution.

Thus,

Thus, when a general deluge of immorality, effeminacy and corruption overwhelmed the political principles and manners of the *Danes* and *Nordwegians* in both kingdoms, and effaced all traces of public spirit therein; it could not be difficult to establish any tyranny in the kingdom remoter from the chief seat of government.

The luxuries, the follies and the vices of the *Danes* being transplanted into *Nordweg*; by the assiduous culture of governors and ministers, self-interested in robbing, corrupting the morals, duping and enslaving the people, they increased multiplied and throve exceedingly.

Least the administration in *Danemarch* might be reproached with a remoter colony's being more free or prosperous, constant care was taken to make the *Nordwegians* in all respects more slavish and wretched than the *Danes*. As a warning to other states, and as a test, by which they may guess at the state of their political health; before I explain the actual dissolution of the *Danish* government, I shall point out the immediate means, by which *Nordweg* was first destroyed, and then shew how and why *Danemarch* shortly after shared the same fate.

LETTER IV.

IT has been already observed, that the treasury of *Nordweg* was looked upon as a kind of private purse to the kings of *Danemarch*, ever since the two kingdoms fell under one common head. Since then, *Nordweg* never was comforted with the sight of her king; except when, through necessity, he happened to be visited by *Frederick* duke of *Holstein*, for the more effectual expulsion of

Christiern II. and the subduction of his followers and friends.

Since this time, all schemes of *Danish* policy, with respect to this people, tended to impoverish, to oppress, to break and enslave them. Curses were lavished on them by the *Danish* ministry, whenever the name of *Nordweg* occurred; and that not only in words of execration, but in deeds of cruelty. It rarely happened that any ruler was sent among them, that was not intended like the first king, which the Almighty gave in his wrath, as a curse to a slavish and perverse generation. And if the people murmured at their oppressions, the complainant's mouth was effectually stoppt, by being told, the court would not be troubled with the brawlings of a restless, turbulent people, whom they wished never to have had being, and would totally abandon, were it not for fear of their country's falling into the hands of *Swedenland*, who might use it to the prejudice of *Danemarch*. Yet, who would believe it, were it not well attested? this abused and distressed people, to the last retained a strict regard to loyalty!

The kings of *Danemarch* long saw that their despotism was first to be established in *Nordweg*, and thence, at a convenient time, to be introduced into *Danemarch*. The aversion which the *Danes* always bore the *Nordwegians*, made every attempt of enslaving these objects of their jealousy and envy, not only safe but easy and generally successful.

It was not yet judged quite convenient to break openly with the *Nordwegians*. Therefore appearances were kept up; they were fed on forms, robbed of essentials. Their diets were regularly continued in form. But, they were created and corrupted in the same manner with the *Danish* diet. Every viceroy, since the time of *Frederick I.* especially,

cially, was sent with design, if not with instructions, to exhaust their treasure, and to subvert their liberties. While the *Danish* ministry could with ease secure a majority in the different states of the diet, which they had brought to the same model with that of *Danemarch*, to carry any bill or question desired, or to acquiesce silently under any new imposition from the government; all went on in the regular form. And in these, they had the less opposition; because they were more than once fatally given to understand, that if they did not grant or submit to any thing required, the *Danish* diet would pass a law to bind them, regardless of their consent, and the standing army should enforce and execute what the *Danish* judges presiding in the *Nordwegian* tribunals, might not be able to effect.

It would be endless to recite the instances of these facts, that might be produced. Let it suffice to shew, that laws made by the corrupt diets of *Danemarch* were daily imposed upon the people of *Nordweg*, without their consent. And that the king or his viceroy might at any time drain the public treasury, assigning no better cause than the royal, or, which was still stronger, the ministerial pleasure.

So fully was the measure of the corruption of *Nordweg* compleated, that in upwards of sixty years, the crown never failed of carrying a favourite point in the diet but two, which cost the people very dear.

The one was a scheme for saving the court the trouble of calling a diet in *Nordweg*, by granting additional taxes for twenty-one years. To carry this into execution, baron *Teretrackt* was sent viceroy, about the year, 1628. He was a man of deep cunning and dissimulation. His countenance was smooth and open; his mien and deportment was free, easy and plausible; his speech mellifluous, insidious. His pur-
poses

poses were dark and ministerial, well hid under artful disguises. And though his heart was naturally false and treacherous, he could be resolute and sincere, where it served his sordid purposes.

He readily found out that hospitality and affability were cheap and effectual bribes to the *Nordwegians*. He was profuse in both; and by these, and being free and easy of access, he was readily believed artless and undesigning, open, generous and honest, though nothing was more foreign to his soul.

It was remarked, that he never refused any man a favour; but it was found he promised the same thing, as a secret, to many, and fulfilled his engagements but with a few, and that only to save appearances and keep up the expectations of other dupes, till his purposes were answered.

When he had wrought the public into a good opinion of him, and bribed the whole diet, at least with promises; he carried several small points smoothly. Then, he opened the great scheme, to obtain a grant of certain taxes for upwards of twenty years. But, this was discovered by a few shrewd ones, to be intended to make it unnecessary to call diets in that time. Alarmed at this, some rusticated members, that seldom attended the diet, were apprized of it, came to town and foiled the whole machination by a few unexpected voices.

Upon this scheme's failing, baron *Teretrackt* was recalled; and the count of *Dorensaght* sent to hold the next diet, in the baron's stead, about the year 1630. He was a nobleman of an antient family and considerable fortune; a man of sense; and few men about the court had a reputation less sullied; though none was less intitled to any degree of fair or patriot fame. He entered into the manners of the *Nordwegians*, and gained their hearts by unaffected affability, generosity

rosity and hospitality. And further, to testify an unfeigned love for the people, he had two sons brought from the university of *Copenhagen* to be entered in that of *Bergen*; where they took the degrees, and one of them particularly made a better figure in learning than is often found among youth of his rank. And at the same time, gave some of his daughters in marriage, to some of the richest commoners in the kingdom.

This disposition could not fail of ingratiating the whole family with the public, and raising the count's hopes of carrying any of the intended projects into execution. Among others of less note, which succeeded, he took up that of granting certain taxes for a certain number of years. Nothing was attended with greater prospect of success. A considerable majority of the members, that usually attended the diet, which were seldom any other than those that had something to ask or something to fear, actually promised the viceroy their concurrence. And he was not courtier enough to doubt their words. But some, who were not gratified, fell off before the day of trial; and some members, who rarely ever before attended the diet, in hopes of neighbour's share in the favours of the viceroy, came to town, too late to be properly instructed by his excellency, but time enough to be affected by the speeches of some zealous, disappointed patriots, and to give their voices against the court.

Notwithstanding such unexpected reinforcements of the enemy, the trusty viceroy lost the great question only by a single voice, which happened to be that of a gentleman, who just came and entered the house in his boots, time enough to give his voice and turn the scale. But, tho' this gentleman was for some time afterwards celebrated in story, in bumper and in song, and every way honoured by

by the people for thus, tho' accidentally, preventing the precipitate fate of his country; yet, he soon after gave them to understand, it was not the effect of judgment or integrity: for, the first temptation, that afterwards offered, determined him a beast of burden and a pensioner to the ministry.

Notwithstanding these chagrining disappointments, it was not judged expedient to break yet openly with the *Nordwegians*. Therefore other means were contrived, by votes of credit to different viceroys, under the pretence of repairing harbours and fortresses, providing arms for the army and militia, and the like; together with drawing the funds as well as redundancies of funds out of the treasury, upon the king's letters; to keep the country poor and miserable. And the better to effect this, every viceroy introduced some new branch of luxury, which increased the imports to an intolerable excess. This for some time increased the revenues, while it begared the nation.

The count, after having made provisions for his own family, and the dependants following him from *Danemarch*, whom he thrust into the first employments civil, ecclesiastic and military, in prudent preference to performing promises made the members of the *Nordwegian* diet and their friends; retired from the government, not without keeping still some interest in the people, by an artful, insinuating deportment; which interest was daily improved in his absence, by his honoured allies, and above all by his faithful creature, *Beefingstein*, now raised to a considerable bishoprick, and afterwards to the primacy and regency of *Nordweg*.

Contented with establishing such drains as must ever keep the people of *Nordweg* poor and despicable, the *Danish* ministry were not very solicitous about the character of the viceroy, to be sent to rule this wretched

wretched people; except when they had some favourite point to carry: then, a popular man was sent; who if he had not parts to execute the ministerial projects, had some subtle fellow coupled with him, under the name of a secretary, tho' in fact, often the viceroy; as he held his principal in leading-strings, or muzzled or hoodwinked at his discretion, so as might best answer the intentions of their masters in *Nordweg*.

LETTER V.

COUNT *Dorensaght* was succeeded in office, not in capacity, by count *Devinschwartz*, a man of low parts and little education, but with an heart so well disposed, that had he not been born a courtier, he might have made an honest country gentleman. His fortune, interest and rank made him necessary to the court. Therefore he was early pushed into places of more private profit and honour, than public trust or importance. Yet notwithstanding, he had naturally more of the farmer or fox-hunter than of the courtier, in his composition.

He had sense enough to see how easy his predecessor got thro' his administration, and what an interest he still kept up with the *Nordwegians* by the alliances he made among the rich families of that kingdom. No sooner then was he spoke of for that office, than he laid himself out for matching his family in the same manner. He first got a rich *Nordwegian* heiress for his eldest son. This secured him the interest of her family. Which, added to his being a descendant of the famous baron *Ruschwall*, whose patriot blood was cruelly shed by the weak and wicked king *Christiern II.* gave him a strong interest in a people, among whom, a just

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regard

regard to the memory of illustrious men had not yet been quite extinguished.

Thus circumstanced, count *Devinschwartz* entered upon the office of viceroy, taking the greatest number of his family with him. The brilliancy of his court attracted the admiration of the *Nordwegians*. He was soon solicited for his daughters, by some of the most opulent and potent families, and prudently wedded first one, and then another, into one family, that of baron *Dungunsburgh*, who by lately amassing an excessive fortune, by means too complicated to be easily explained, had acquired considerable influence in the state.

Notwithstanding the strong alliance and powerful interest this viceroy made with the *Nordwegians*, no new attempt was made upon the constitution. He drew what money he thought fit, without controul, opposition or account, out of the public treasury, upon the king's letters, by gifts, pensions, or gratuities. And what this fell short of supplying for the present, the obsequious commons secured by votes of credit, under the pretext of building garrisons and forts, and providing arms for the defence of the state.

That these were only names to gloss over excessive grants to this viceroy, was in a short time after granting made manifest: for, not an hundredth part of the expence was laid out in any article. The walls of some old useless forts were rough-cast; the roofs of some barracks were pointed, and a few stands of arms, of which, not one in four, could answer the common proof, were sent to make a shew in the armories, to save appearances. And when complaints were made, accounts demanded, and an enquiry attempted to be set on foot, it was seen to be all in vain; the viceroy had quit his employment for a new one in *Danemarch*. And soon after, he
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was seen to erect a spacious palace, to which, it was not doubted the *Nordwegian* treasury had contributed. Before he quitted the regency, he took care to strengthen and secure his interest, not only by his alliances, but by adding several to the number of the band of pensioners, who had long sucked out the vitals of this country.

The number of these was multiplied industriously under every viceroy. There was hardly a court-distinguished slave, nor a royal concubine, or other prostitute, in *Danemarch*, that had not sine-cure employments with enormous salaries or excessive pensions upon the establishment of *Nordweg*; while most of the people of fortune of the country fled from the miseries at home, to bask in the sunshine of a court.

But, how will you be able to conceive this, when you find, that this poor people were not allowed a mint or a coinage, even of copper, since the reign of king *John*? And when you are assured, that no money could be sent them out of *Danemarch*, that was not subject to be seized and forfeited? Yet, they were, many of them, obliged to pay their rents and many other debts, and all the *Danish* sine-cure placemen, and all the pensioners, by *Danemarch* imposed upon the wretched *Nordwegians*, were to be paid, in *Danish* coin. How will free *Britons* conceive that such inconsistent cruelties, should be exercised, how such impracticable tasks could be assigned any people, since the *Egyptians* first set the worthy example of obliging the *Jews* to make brick without sawel?—Yet see how parallel the case was in *Nordweg*, under the government of the oppressive, inconsiderate, cruel, falling *Danes*!

But, this was not the only cruelty in this instance: The cheapness of labour among the beggared *Nordwegians*, and the plenty of fish and some other

commodities, which their neighbours wanted, necessarily brought some *Danish*, *Swedish* and other coins into *Nordweg*, and the more because not only the *Danish*, but all the foreign coins were made to bear a considerably greater value in *Nordweg*, than in *Danemarch*: for, as soon as the pensioners, placemen and others complained, that they lost greatly by the exchange of money from *Nordweg* to *Danemarch*, which was about seven or eight *per cent.* the rich *Nordwegian* landlords, living in *Danemarch*, joined with them, and were together able to influence the crown arbitrarily to reduce the value of the current coin in *Nordweg*, about three *per cent.* And when the diet of *Nordweg*, in order to put placemen and pensioners under the necessity of spending some time in the country, from whence they drew their subsistence, made a law, to tax all absent placemen about five *per cent. per annum*, out of the profits of their employments every year, of which the incumbent did not spend half in *Nordweg*, and for the obliging all placemen to take certain oaths publicly, to qualify and oblige them to enter regularly into their offices; yet, few men in employments ever wanted means to get these sensible and salutary laws evaded or dispensed with, by the authority of the crown, or the arrogated superiority of the diet of *Danemarch*. Had such enormous cruelties, such wanton, outrageous tyranny been ever exercised by our kings or parliaments over *Ireland*; might we not reasonably expect the same curse should attend our councils and overturn the constitutions of these happy realms, as those of *Nordweg* and *Danemarch* were by these and such like means? But against all such evils, our native wisdom and matchless virtue must prove impregnable shields.

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All these cruelties, however, the broken *Nordwegians* bore a long time passing well. Individuals indeed, sometimes felt the oppressive strokes of power, and some few foresaw some dreadful effects must follow such retrograde courses, such political, enormous backslidings. Yet, did neither house in the diet, which was now modelled to the same form with that of *Danemarch* once interpose, or dare to make a single remonstrance against any imposition laid on the people of *Nordweg* by the *Danish* ministry, however cruel, arbitrary, tyrannical or destructive they appeared. From this, they probably were terrified by the jurisdiction of their supreme court being abolished and removed to *Danemarch*, by a short act of that tyrannical, yet declining, state. For, they had long been by fatal experience assured, that their grievances made the chief political pleasure of their enslavers, and that their complaining would not only fasten on their old chains the faster, but probably get new ones set on.

Of this, many instances at different times were given. The most remarkable of which well deserves relating : when the supreme judicature, backed by the nobles of *Nordweg*, complained of appealing from any of their courts to the supreme judicature in *Danemarch*, opposed the hateful incroachment, and resumed their antient authority ; the *Danish* court wrested the judgment out of the hands of the *Nordwegian* tribunal ; gave a decree against them, and sent it to an inferior court, that of the treasurer, in *Nordweg*, ordering them, who could have no cognizance of the cause, to execute the extra-judicial decree. This servile tribunal passively obeyed, adopted the decree of a foreign judicature, and got it, as their own, put into execution. At the next assembly of the diet in *Nordweg*, this shameful proceeding was examined, and it being found contrary
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to law and rights, injurious to the people in general, subversive of the privileges of the diet and derogatory to the king's prerogative, who was till now presumed to be virtually, if not actually present in all the courts, more especially in the supreme judicature, in *Nordweg*; the nobles censured the perjured abettors of it, the high treasurer and his assessors, and then in a most sensible and loyal address to the king, remonstrated against this unparalleled proceeding of the high court in *Danemarch*, in a manner equally pathetic and nervous.

Had it been possible, such violent, such sacrilegious encroachments had been committed on the rights of the parliament or people of *Ireland*, by any court in *England*; who does not know, that a rational and loyal remonstrance, would immediately produce a tender and satisfactory answer, a speedy redress of grievances, from the sovereign, who could not be exempt from the injury. But, see the different dispositions of *British* and *Danish* kings and people! *Christiern III.* was so far deaf to the remonstrances of his faithful *Nordwegians*, that he never so much as answered, or even acknowledged the receipt of their address. And as the most effectual means of preventing the trouble of such addresses for the future; an act was passed in the *Danish* diet for taking from the *Nordwegian* court and nobles their principal jurisdiction and privileges for ever; while the censured judges were not only exempted from punishment, but rewarded, at the expence of the injured subjects, with considerable pensions on the establishment. Such was the contempt of the rights of the people and the authority of the courts of *Nordweg*, such the discouragement of virtue and public spirit, such the reward of servitude in iniquity, in *Danemarch*!—How wonderful then she subsisted

subsisted so long in such an abandoned state of corruption.

LETTER VI.

THOUGH such as these were the ordinary measures of administration, dealt out for years from *Danemarch* to *Nordweg*; yet it was sometimes found, that a variety of accidents conspired to give them, not above once in a century or so, a pleasing if not a patriot viceroy. This happened upon the recalling of the count of *Devinschwartz*.

This nobleman was succeeded in office by the count de *Tschesderveldt*. He was a man of a very antient and illustrious family, which conferred many benefits on their country, and in several branches did it singular honour in the diet, in the senate, and in the field. There was no abatement of these virtues in the person of this nobleman: he got a deeper tincture of school and college learning than at that time usually fell to the share of his rank. He was likewise instructed in the best systems of philosophy. But, he rather admired, and encouraged the progress of sciences and arts in others, than to be at the trouble of labouring much in the vineyard himself. He read history antient and modern. And made himself well acquainted with the laws of nature in general, especially, as far as they regarded the rights of men; and made himself particularly master of the constitutions of the kingdoms and states under the crown of *Danemarch*. He travelled in his youth, and learned the languages of all the polite countries in *Europe*. This induced him in a more advanced age to take a tour, to learn the customs and manners, and the interests and connexions of the different courts, with intent to improve the manners and politics of his own country. And tho'

tho' his person was not the most graceful, he was the most flowery, the most persuasive orator of his time.

With these accomplishments, the count de *Tschesderveldt*, had certainly made the greatest figure of any counsellor of his time; were he not too much given up to his pleasures. This gave every thing he said or did, a tint of levity, which greatly diminished the force of all he offered. His love for women, made him fall into all the little delicate softnesses that please the sex, when they are not too far removed from manliness. He indulged in music for them, and for them, the philosopher, the orator and the patriot was oft disguised in the jingling numbers of an amorous song. This made him, what the world now calls, the fine gentleman.

His rank and fortune however, rather than the brightness of his parts, first called him to the corrupting court of *Christiern III.* with whom his accomplishments, in time, rendered him such a favourite and confident as to have got him intrusted with several important embassies to the principal powers of *Europe*; where he well maintained the dignity of his rank, and otherwise acquitted himself to the honour and interest of his king and country.

As he advanced a little in years, he saw the follies of life, the absurdities of man; which made him sometimes indulge the satyrical, as he before had courted the amorous muse. He was never known to baulk a laugh or a sarcasm, however unseasonable the time or distinguished the character that gave occasion. The prince, being none of the best or wisest of men, was often forced to feel with pain the sharpness of the wit and raillery of count *Tschesderveldt*. Nor was he exempted from this by ascending the throne: for, thither did the count pursue

pursue him, laugh at him to his face, and sometimes in ballads, riddles and epigrams, would expose him to the grossest ridicule.

This the king would have resented, had he known how. One way, he attempted to be revenged. He refused to pay a legacy left by his father to the count, till he found, upon enquiry, that the courts were yet so free, that they dared decree against their sovereign, if they saw just occasion. He found then that his attempts for revenge must be vain. And as the count might be a dangerous enemy, if he could not be made a friend; the king judged it best to counterfeit a regard, where he could have none, and to take a man, whom he rather feared than loved, into his councils and seemingly into his confidence.

Here again, the count rather shewed himself troublesome than useful. He frankly gave opposition to all such measures as he did not approve. And as most of the measures of the court now were such, he found it right to oppose, embarrass and confound, rather than forward, the administration.

No wonder then, the king and the ministry should wish the count out of the way. Each sought for an opportunity of sending him honourably from the court; but neither thought it safe to run the risk of giving any offence. It was judged then the best to send him into *Nordweg*, to hold a diet there, in the room of the count *Devinschwartz*, who was called home and put into a great place in the household.

The count's curiosity to see *Nordweg*, if not his pride, was gratified in being sent in so distinguished a character, as that of the king's vicegerent, with power to provide for a number of his dependents. Therefore, he accepted the offer, upon condition, his commission should give him all the legal powers

of the office, beyond the influence or controul of the ministry.

Thus equipped, the count set out and arriving at *Bergen*, entered upon his office.

His family was well respected and his character much admired in *Nordweg*. These raised his credit with the public, and gave him a power over them, which he could never abuse. He prudently began with levelling all distinctions of parties, whether religious or political. And thus encouraged, all without distinction, crowded, and were well received at, his court. He visited their universities, countenanced their men of learning, and gained their affection and confidence. He looked into the state of their arts and commerce, and laid schemes to promote, extend and regulate them. He exposed their bad policy, as well as their luxury and immorality, and pointed out the means of correcting the one and retrenching and avoiding the other, as far as the corrupt system of the bad establishment he found there would admit. He did not want judgment or inclination to make a general reformation. But this, he saw, exceeded the bounds of his commission, as well as his natural powers. Evil customs long habitual are not easily laid aside. Therefore, he chiefly laboured to make them forget the unhappy state of servitude, in which they lived under *Danemarch*, and to turn their thoughts to the improving the little trade they had, and extending it to branches, as yet unrestrained.

He found the *Nordwegian* government a petty epitome of that of *Danemarch*: party and faction ruled the whole. In the absence of the viceroy, the kingdom was governed by a regency of one, two, or more men, sometimes sent from *Danemarch* to rule there; sometimes the heads of different parties or factions in *Nordweg* were admitted, and
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of late years, the men that had interest enough to be set at the head of the clergy, and the pleaders, which of late were always *Danes*, and he that could get himself chosen president of the commons, were named joint regents under the title of lords deputies or lords governors, who ruled absolutely in their several departments, the primate always directing and answering for the conduct of the clergy, and frequently extending his influence to many of the laity, whether of the nobles or commons. The chancellor always took care of the men of law and their associates, at least, and often carried his influence to suiters of all denominations, who ever lay in *Nordweg* at the mercy of the courts, and were deemed abject dependants. And the rule or government of the commons was always vested in their president, who was answerable for their obedience, while it served his private purposes.

By the combination of these three, or the most powerful two of them, at the least, all public business was to be transacted, easily and effectually, not otherwise. And to gratify these, to keep them in good humour, they were usually left to manage each his respective department; except where they co-operated, as was generally the case: then they severally extended their influences on nobles, clergy and commons universally, indiscriminately. When they acted separately, every man and thing relating to, or dependant on the church was supposed to be left under the direction and management of the primate; the management of men of law fell to the province of the chancellor, as all that related to the electing and ruling of the commons was committed to the conduct of the president of the commons.

Most viceroys judged themselves obliged to fall in with two or all of these conductors of public affairs,

affairs, and to yield themselves up in some measure to their guidance. In this situation, the count *Tschesdirvelt* found the kingdom. But he determined to let them see he came to rule, not to be ruled. In the naming chaplains and preachers to the court, and in the disposal of government-benefices up to bishopricks, the primate gave it to be understood that his recommendation was to have the greatest weight, if it was hoped he should forward the service of the crown. This the chancellor could not promote, unless he had the nomination of judges or assessors of all the courts, and the directing every thing relating to that and other branches of what he had learned to call his function. And if the president had not the appointment of sheriffs, magistrates, and returning-officers, and the whole conduct and direction of the election and oeconomy of the commons committed entirely to his hands, he declared himself unequal to the management of the national affairs. How will the free and independant subjects of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* be able to conceive such subtyrannies as those to have ever got footing in any free state?

If there be any merit in breaking such confederacies in subtyranny as these, it all falls to count *Tschesdirvelt*, who first reduced these usurpers within the due bounds of their respective spheres. 'It may be thought a pity,' (said this noble viceroy) 'to break in upon the oeconomy of this most wise and potent triumvirate of state-managers. But, I must let you know, that I have no business with any one of you out of your proper spheres. I am come to do the business of the nation, which is the business of the king. And as I am sole in the commission, so I will be sole in power, and while I am intrusted by his majesty, with the reins of government, I will hold them, while they are permitted

mitted to be held with honor, for the mutual happiness of the king and people, no longer. When I am at a loss for the character of a man to fill any of the vacant places in the gift of the crown, I may consult some, if not all of you; and may perhaps in some instances pay regard to each of your recommendations. But, I will hear of no demands of yours for preferment or places to be left at your disposal, to enable you to carry on the business of the crown; nor will such be in any wise necessary for you; because I am resolved to take all that trouble off your hands.'

The managers little suspecting such an unusual speech, were not prepared to give it any answer. They besides, thought it most prudent to shew no resentment, or by contending further, let a man into the secrets of their administrations, which they saw so unfit for the purposes of the ministry, that he could not hold his place long. They therefore thought it best to seem to approve this spirited conduct, and by apparently joining in it, to rob the author of it of some degree of his well merited applause.

By this means, the session of the diet went smoothly on; the public business was freely and at a little trouble expedited, without offering any violation of the rights of the community or of any individual; which was so rarely the case in *Nordweg*, that this viceroy became the most popular that had ever been known since the union of *Calmer*. There are statues of him kept to this day in the houses of all that can afford them, let their religious or political tenets be what they may; while the poorer sort hand down, as a most valuable present to posterity, a print of this great lieutenant in the royal robes of the viceroy, surrounded by his speeches to both assemblies of the diet. One disposition of this nobleman

nobleman however sullied his fame and foiled his claim to immortality. The people overlooked the tincture of levity and jest, or what some call wit, that mixed itself with, and tarnished the lustre of his best actions. His fondness for gaming and giving up some of his most important hours to the company of the most infamous sharpers at cards and dice, were only mentioned as pardonable private frailties. But, the sensible, of his time, could not forget, nor let it escape the memories of their children, that this great man suffered private attachments and connexions so far to interfere with his public, political capacity, as to make him take a declared criminal upon record in *Danemarch*, into the first employment under him in *Nordweg*; while he filled up all the other offices, civil, ecclesiastic and military, that fell to his gift, with worthless minions, and burdened the overloaded establishment with multiplied pensions for men of the same stamp. It is also said, that he had several bills framed and past in the senate, with intent to be past in the ordinary form in the diet, by way of breaking the power of the diet, agreeable to *Gortzman's* law. But in this he met with some opposition, which set succeeding viceroys upon engaging more of the considerable peers and commons in the senate.

His virtues however, not his failings, made the ministry think it not for the purposes of them and their master to let such a viceroy remain long in such a station. Therefore they suddenly recalled him, sending an other, more for their purposes, though less for those of the people, to fill up the place.

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LETTER VII.

COUNT *Tschesdirvelt* was succeeded in office, not in parts or accomplishments, by baron *Tarringburgh*. This nobleman was of the younger branch of a family of great worth and eminence. He shewed no propensity to learning or arts. His friends therefore chose to send him into the army, which was then the common receptacle of the dissolute and profligate of all ranks. He entered so early as the reign of *Frederick II.* and having had the opportunity of serving under a general, not inferior to our great duke of *Marlborough*, made such a progress in the art military as procured him rank and fame. So that in all the succeeding wars, he was honoured with some command, and in times of peace, he was employed in public embassies or other great offices of state.

He became a particular favourite of *Christiern IV.* who raised him to the rank of nobility, and gave him the place of chief secretary of state, an office of great honour and trust, and extremely profitable.

In this, he amassed great riches, and might have enjoyed it all his life, had he had but a little common sense and a moderate portion of common gratitude. He saw, that his office, his rank and his riches conspired to give him some weight, and he was determined to exert his moment, regardless of the respect he owed him from whom he derived all he possessed, purely to shew his own consequence and gratify his pride.

To do this, he needs must interfere with the king's appointing, as he had done him, the other officers of his court. And laid hold of an opportunity,

tunity, in which the king could the worst brook opposition in any part of the administration. This was in the last war, when the king wanted the influence of all his ministers to raise money to support the war, to prevent a threatened invasion, and to quell a rebellion. At this time, the king made a promotion of civil officers, that were not quite agreeable to his new creature, the baron. Upon which, the retrograde courtier, to shock the public credit and put the king under the necessity of changing his measures, even to the expulsion of the last promoted officers, stirred up a kind of revolt among the other great officers, whom he prevailed upon to throw up their places, which they severally did in a formal resignation under their hands, the baron's name standing foremost in the black list. But in this, a succeeding viceroy bore a part, underhand.

Cæsar was not more shocked at seeing *Brutus* at the head of the conspiracy against his forfeit life, than *Cbristiern IV.* was at seeing the hand of his late creature and favourite *Yarringburgh* at the head of this ill-timed, unjust association to distress his government. The baron for the present gained his ends; the king was forced to reverse his promotion, and to court all the seceders to come back into their lately surrendered employments, before he could get the public business carried on.

But, the indignity offered him, and the ingratitude of his worthless minion, he never was able to forgive or forget. He therefore sought for every opportunity of getting shut of a man so obnoxious to him as *Yarringburgh* had now made himself. But, his evil conduct rendering the king in some measure dependant on his own creatures, he did not dare to break openly with this malevolent minister. He therefore was forced to dissemble with him, till he had an opportunity of offering him the vicegerency in *Nordweg*, calculated
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only for a civil banishment from the court, into an office, where an unwary man might easily be decoyed into his own disgrace or destruction.

All this was the subtle contrivance of the count *de Dorensaght*, who edged on this duped peer to his undoing. He first set him on the resignation, promising to join in resigning his employments. But, when the baron was hurried to a length, from which he could not look back, the artful count feigned sickness and let his hated rival stand foremost, if not alone, at the head of a secession.

He went still further, and set the poor unthinking baron upon the evil schemes of government, that will be found to have wrought his destruction in *Nordweg*, lying upon the lurch to succeed him in favour and employment. In which he craftily gained his ends, the baron never suspecting the count's friendship, till a little before his death.

Yarringburgh unsuspecting sinister designs, was pleased with his promotion, got his commission much more limited than his predecessor, and set out well contented, upon his government.

The *Nordwegians*, whose loyalty and affection to the *Holstein* family bordered upon infamous servility, considering the treatment given them by this family, unknowing of the plot, received this, to them, seeming favourite of his majesty, as a pledge of his royal love; and partly on this account, and partly in respect to the baron's family and name, treated the new viceroy at his first coming, with every mark of respect and honour.

Nothing new being started in the first assembly of the states held by him; all things were carried on with harmony and peace. To secure which, he entered into a sort of compromise with the three managers: they were to take all the management of affairs, and the emoluments attending it, between

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them,

them, leaving him only what his master in *Danemarch* enjoyed, the title, honours and common profits of his place. They were to plan out the course of administration, and he was, as they directed, to give their conduct the sanction of his name. And upon this agreement, they undertook to get any moderate scheme of the *Danish* ministry carried into execution.

While all went on smoothly under this kind of management, an accident happened, from small beginnings, that greatly disconcerted the viceroy and his managers, and in the end precipitated his disgrace.

The citizens of *Bergen* were by one of their corps stirred up to great discontent and wrath against the burgomaster and scapins of that city, upon a presumption of their wresting from the senate of the city, their votes in the elections of their magistrates, together with sundry other privileges.

These scapins, it seems, had now for some time chosen themselves in succession, regardless of the free men and commonalty of the city, and under the influence of the managers, whose most useful tools the scapins were, upon many occasions, found.

The citizens being well persuaded of the rights of which they were stripped by the scapins, grew first importunate, afterwards, tumultuous and clamorous; and, finding all amicable means of accommodation fail, at length determined to wage law with their oppressors, for the recovery of their usurped rights.

The suit was no sooner commenced, than the managers, fearing the power of election, by getting into the multitude of the citizens, out of the hands of the few scapins under the influence of the government, might endanger the authority of the triumvirate or quadrumvirate; commanded the president

sident and assessors of the court, if they could not cast the citizens in due form of law, to reject their suit and refuse them a hearing.

The judges were all obedience: for, though they were forced, upon the strength of the proofs laid before them, to confess an antient, original inherent right in the commonalty and citizens, interrupted only in a few instances of later years; yet, they took upon them, by the instigation and authority of the regency, peremptorily to refuse admitting the matter in dispute, the right of election of scapins, to be tried by due course of law. Thus the viceroy and his managers were able to shut up the courts of justice. A violence of which no subject of our free kingdoms can complain.

This however proved one of the most fatal stumbling-blocks, that was thrown in the way of baron *Yarringburgh*. Nor was he able to recover the trip of the first false step he made, till he fell to the ground.

Just before the baron was appointed viceroy, a writer, in our phrase, an attorney, of some sense and more spirit, was chosen into the senate of the city of *Bergen*. He was a man of more than ordinary reading. He was already acquainted with the history and the laws of the realm, and there wanted but a little application to make him acquainted with those of the city. This was not long wanting. He soon revolved all the records of the city, and made them known to his fellows. The public now first saw the incroachments the scapins had made upon the power and rights of the senate and citizens, particularly in the instance of elections. Upon this it was, that they commenced the suit with the scapins, whose fate we have before set forth.

Rutilius the attorney advised the senate and citizens not to let this suit drop in this manner, but

make a complaint to the viceroy first, and if he should not redress their grievances, to lay their complaints, as well of the viceroy as of the judges, before the throne.

The incensed multitude readily embraced the advice of *Rutilius*, who now made himself so popular as to be looked upon as one of the first tribunes of the people, another *Gracchus*. They trusted their cause entirely to his hands, and empowered him to act for them, in their name.

Rutilius wanted but their sanction. He drew up their complaints in form, printed them and presented them to the viceroy, subscribed with his name, in behalf of himself and the rest of the suffering senate and citizens of *Bergen*.

The viceroy received them with seeming politeness. Expressed his concern for the occasion. Promised to inspect into the matter, and to do his utmost to redress the grievances of all his majesty's loyal subjects committed to his government, those of the senate and citizens of *Bergen* in particular.

Rutilius departed well satisfied with this reception and these promises; never suspecting the viceroy's being himself at the bottom of their grievances. He took the first opportunity of informing the citizens of his proceedings, and the prospects of success; with which, they were also highly satisfied; not knowing, or yet suspecting, that the complained of iniquity of the judges was authorised by *Tarringburgh* and his managers in concert.

Rutilius's complaints were couched in such strong terms, his cries so pathetic and so popular, that they could not fail of affecting the viceroy, moved more by fears, than any regards to justice. He therefore consulted the president of the court and the triumvirate of managers, what had best be done to quiet the minds of the complainants, quell their tumults

and to silence their clamours. They told him, it was a matter of no sort of consequence; that the fomentor of these troubles was a madman, whose frenzy had indeed proved a little infectious for some time past. But, that the surest way of curing the multitude was to pay them no regard; and that their clamours would necessarily cease, as soon as they were discouraged by the government.

Tho' the incensed multitude was not so easily appeased in *Danemarch*, the viceroy was satisfied with the advice of his managers, and therefore observed their pleasing precepts. Soon after which, having settled all the public affairs to his mind, and drained the treasury, agreeable to the custom of his predecessors, he returned to *Copenhagen*.

L E T T E R VIII.

DURING the viceroy's absence, the seats of the representatives of *Bergen* became vacant, by the death of their members. The citizens could not help casting their eyes on *Rutilius* for one of their representatives, being the man who had most distinguished himself in the knowledge, as well as in the asserting, of their rights. With him, they set up another popular man, for the other seat.

The whole *quadrumvirate*, and all their creatures and dependants, were much alarmed at this; dreading nothing more than an opposition in the diet, from a man, who so bravely and steadily asserted the rights of the public in a lower sphere, regardless of the interposition of the highest powers.

However, as elections were generally made as the nod of power and the influence of the treasury directed, all over the kingdom as well as in the city; however popular these tribunes appeared, the managers
promised

promised the viceroy, that their attempts to get into the diet should be foiled.

With this intent, they singled out two scapins of weight in opposite factions, the one an avowed glum, the other a zealous glym, and each connected with families of fortune of these parties, who, as soon as these partisans were declared candidates, engaged them severally their votes and interest. Thus fortified, these court-favoured candidates began to think their election secure, and to laugh at the idle pretensions of the plebean candidates, who resolved to be at no expence, to solicit no vote, but to trust entirely to the good will of the populace, by former services bespoke. And the managers exulted at seeing their schemes in so fair a way to success, and laughed at the weak efforts of the puny opponents of their extended and long established sway.

Rutilius was a man of some learning, but greater natural parts. He gave up all the hours he could spare from his profession and the calls of society, to which he religiously attended, to pursue the study of nature. The coy virgin admitted him to the closest intimacy. He explored her secrets, admired the elegant simplicity, the beauty and harmony of her oeconomy, and diligently pursued the paths she pointed out. Tho' he was the last of a family buried in the ruins of time, and had no fortune, but his profession; he could not prosecute it with mercenary views. The affluence of fortune had no charm for him, nor adversity any thing terrible, in his sight. He studied the nature of man; but learned more what man should be, than discovered what man really was. He held the service of the community, the first, the great indispensable duty of every individual, and that no private interest or concern should in any measure come in competition with

with the public good. This made the public, *Rutilius's* principal care, to which he made all private considerations subservient.

Of this, he gave the earliest proof: for, as soon as he became his own master, he publicly exposed the frauds and corruptions, that had over-run and disgraced his profession, rendering it injurious instead of being useful to society, and unfit to be followed by a man of a fair character. He did this in such strong and plain terms, that the diet were moved upon his remonstrances to make some reformation, but far short of what this honest man proposed. In this attempt, he had the misfortune not only of standing quite single; but of being powerfully opposed by his whole profession in all its branches; which raised him many powerful adversaries, whose enmity never could subside.

He sought no honours, indeed he knew none, but the approbation of wise and good men, seconding the dictates of a well regulated conscience. His desire to serve the public, made him submit to be declared a candidate. He hardly hoped for success, however he might have estimated his own private abilities or intentions; well knowing, that power and opulence, which connected and commanded parties and factions, by whom elections were generally, universally made, were all against him.

One principle, he firmly established, as the great unerring guide of his political conduct; which was to do no degree of evil, to effect the greatest good. His heart being entirely devoted to the service of the public, made him sensible of all their interests and concerns: for no barometer was more uniformly affected by the changes of the atmosphere, than *Rutilius* by the frequent alterations in the fluctuating state of public affairs.

His

His senses were all acute, his sensibility exquisite. His imagination was warm and quick; his conceptions clear, his judgment distinct; his memory sound and great, and his expressions simple and strong.

His stature inclined to the tall and graceful. His countenance comely, open and serene; his mien and deportment genteel and placid. His passions were naturally quick and rapid; but much moderated by reason and humanity, where the provocation was not excessive; then, he was apt to become violent.

In love and friendship, he ran into flights of purity, constancy, and fidelity, that to the generality seemed rather romantic than practical. And the candour of his heart in these, exposed him to many impositions: for, he never doubted any man's being what he professed. He was civil to his superiors, in proportion to the modesty of their deportment. Upon the tyrannical, the arrogant, and proud, he let loose all his indignation and contempt; taking all means to level them with the lowest of their species. To his inferiors, he was respectful and complaisant, ever ready to shew them all acts of humanity and benevolence. And with those, who in distresses preserved their integrity, he preserved the most intimate fellowship, and held all the goods of life in common; shewing how much their innate virtue enobled, and set them above king-created dignitaries.

Few men were ever known more steady, more determinate in their purposes, than *Rutilius*. He might, and probably as a man must, have been often led from his resolutions, unknowingly or inadvertently, perhaps passionately; but no power could deter him from the pursuits of what he was persuaded to be right and his duty.

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He never designedly gave offence, nor ever took offence, where he had not reason to think it designed. Private injuries made so little impression on him, even when they reduced him to adversity; that he was ever ready to forgive them, upon a slight acknowledgment of the offenders. But, he waged perpetual war against those, whom he looked upon as the enemies of his country, while they held the power and purposes to annoy the public.

He looked upon a man as in a masquerade, who was not ever ready to speak truth to his neighbour. This gave him such an open frankness in conversation, upon all subjects, as often exposed him to the inconveniencies frequently attending such candid dispositions. He could bear no disguise; so that every man might learn *Rutilius's* own sentiments on any matter, public or private; but those of others, delivered him in secrecy, he guarded inviolably.

A mind thus framed must ever prompt perspicuous utterance, where the organs of speech correspond. In this, nature was not less liberal in gifts to *Rutilius*, than in other instances: he had a strong, sound and tuneful voice; an easy, familiar, but warm and affecting, manner of expression, with the greatest choice of words. So that he was rather redundant, than in any measure defective, in speaking upon any subject he assumed.

Thus, what fortune denied him, nature amply supplied. He knew no rule of rhetoric, yet was a most persuasive orator. Nor did he know his own force in eloquence, more than in other instances, till a noble ardour to exert himself in the public cause, urged him to manifest his hidden powers. This he did so forcibly, so rapidly, that he fell under the imputation of enthusiasm, with the cool and the judicious. And indeed, without such a spirit, he

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could never have performed the task he undertook.

This character may by some be supposed fictitious; while the truth of it is likely to be questioned by those that know, it was drawn by *Rutilius* himself: for all that is here said of him is asserted in one part or other of his own writings; except the description of his person and faculties, which his contemporary writers confirm.

As to the rest, particularly the moral part, of his character, he strongly insists upon it, in his public orations and in his letters to *Probus* and several others of his friends. And, when these upbraided him with vanity, he denied the charge, challenging his enemies to contradict what he said of his own principles, and calling upon his friends to testify the truth of his character. In one of these letters he says; ‘ My friends’ accusation of vanity, at the utmost proves me but proud. And as it is a virtuous pride, I am not ashamed of the charge. Have I drawn the character of a good man, and taken it to myself? I own I have. I have done it in my life-time. I have thrown down the gauntlet. Let the invidious or malevolent take it up, while I live. Let them hold the drawing to the original, and see and shew where the painter has flattered, if they can. By doing this, I think I have given the public and you some security for my future good behaviour: for, if I contradict, or in my conduct hereafter fall short of the character, at which I have aspired; I put it in the power of my adversaries to shew me, of all men living, the most contemptible. Sure it can never be a crime to dare to be, or to assert being, virtuous and free? Before this be, let me die!’

With these qualifications, mostly as yet untried, *Rutilius* was declared a candidate upon his own principles; which was never known before in *Bergen*.

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He thought it his indispensable duty to propagate and support this noble spirit, by which the freedom and purity of elections, long overthrown, might possibly be restored.

It had formerly been the custom in these northern states, as well as in antient *Greece* and *Rome*, for the candidates for public offices, those especially that could not well be discharged without the help of eloquence, to attend the meetings of the several electors, and in addressees, harrangues or orations, to give some proof of their qualifications. Since the freedom of elections was violated by power, and private interest alone dictated on whom the electors choice should fall; this custom was laid so far aside, that it was now reckoned enough for a candidate to be introduced, even in dumb shew, to an assembly. The perswasive arguments were offered in private; money or the commands of the great.

These arguments were entirely on the side of the court-candidates, and they urged no other. They never went further than declaring, the number and strength of their friends in the diet, and their connexions with the government. They said, 'that they would not take up much of the electors' time in addressing them in public, resolving to wait upon each individual and address him properly in private.' This for ages had been reckoned enough. And this probably, was the chief reason, why there were so few in either house of the diet, that could bring out any thing beyond a monosyllable in public, upon any occasion.

This custom and these sinister influences, *Rutilius* now resolved to oppose, and if possible, to overthrow. He had given him for his colleague, *Dighslatschius*, a man originally designed for some of the learned professions, and for this purpose instructed in letters in his youth. But upon his taking a greater liking to trade, he

was sent to *Amsterdam* to be qualified in the counting-house of one of the greatest merchants of the age. Under him, our candidate made a great progress in political arithmetic, and in all the various kinds and branches of trade in *Europe*. After visiting several parts of the continent, he returned to his native city, *Bergen*; set out in a narrower circle of commerce, with a good capital, and in a short time, became one of the most considerable merchants of *Nordweg*.

He was a man of a lively imagination, ready conception, a good judgment in most matters, more especially in trade. He was proud, and to gratify that passion, early aspired at city honours, and might have arrived at the chief magistracy of *Bergen*, from a connexion with some of the principal scapins, had he not encouraged a spirit of contradiction, which led him into some seeming opposition to those powers. He was remarkably good-natured; and might be truly said to be good humoured, though he was not always proof against the sudden incursions of passion, which sometimes gave him an appearance foreign to his natural disposition: for, in the rapid gusts and transports of passion, he sometimes was hurried to give offence; for which his pride would not always let him make all the atonement, that nice honour required. And a somewhat too tender sense of humanity, an abhorrence to cruelty and bloodshed, sometimes induced him to put up with offences, not to be borne consistently with the then fashionable modes of resentment.

He set out a candidate, in the common course, upon the ordinary principles; securing votes and promises of votes by every means that could influence the electors: for, it was not repugnant to his schemes of policy, whatever it might be to his system

system of morality, to do a little evil occasionally, to produce some good. He therefore ran into factious connexions to promote his ends in the senate of the city, as well as to gain his election. In which, he never could get *Rutilius* to join.

He declared himself a candidate in terms, and a manner very different from those of *Rutilius*, and in some sort, in opposition to him. Then, there was but one seat vacant, and but one scapin set up by the government. But, when two seats were vacant, and two scapins were declared candidates, the friends of *Dighslatschius* and *Rutilius* insensibly formed a kind of coalition, to strengthen the popular interest against the common enemies; not that it appears, that either interested himself in any sort in the particular success of the other.

Dighslatschius was very zealous to secure his election. *Rutilius* appeared indifferent about his; further than as it tended to revive the true spirit of election and the political constitution, and to restore the lost rights of the people. In this respect, the one seemed actuated by a no less lively zeal than the other. But each pursued different means to come at their ends: the former demanded and accepted promises of votes; the latter shewed, no man should promise a vote, upon any condition; but should take the time of the vacancy to consider the merits of the candidates, that he may come prepared to give his vote at the election, not as private interest, previous promises or other sinister connexions should direct; but as a just regard to the qualifications of the candidates, and each man's duty to society, demanded.

Dighslatschius, more versed in letters and more conversant with men, studied and aimed at oratory; but, however forcible his reasoning, his oration favoured so much more of art than nature, that it
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did not carry all the persuasion that might be hoped.

When the managers set up their creatures as candidates, and engaged all their dependants, with the whole weight of the treasury, to secure their elections; it was thought that neither of the plebean candidates had any chance of success. Yet each resolved to try the sense and freedom of the electors; and with that intent, each determined to revive the antient *Roman* method of addressing the assemblies of the electors.

Rutilius first opened the constitution of the kingdom, and the institution, office, and duty, of every civil officer in the state, and then explained those of the city; shewing what the legal government of each should be, which pointed out systems of political happiness, that none of them before conceived, and such as seemed to many but romantic. Then, he shewed how this became connected to another kingdom, and the exact parity of each, without giving or demanding any precedence to the other; and pointed out the happiness that should result to both nations from such a rational union, kept clear of abuses. Then, he turned to the other side of the question, and pathetically laid down the abuses, the breaches of these happy constitutions, the reversing the duties as well as the administration of offices; the corruptions and usurpations of magistrates, the tyranny exercised by one kingdom over the other; together with the fatal consequences of each, with respect to past, present and future times.

He dwelt particularly and emphatically upon the duties of electors in chusing fit representatives, freely, disinterestedly, dispassionately; and shewed the requisite qualifications and duties of the elected representatives. He made them sensible of the blessings to which they were intitled, under the legal constitutions

constitutions of the kingdom and city ; and shewed the fatal contrast between this and what their ancestors had suffered, in what they were now suffering, and their posterity were likely to suffer, under the infamous and most iniquitous perversion of all order and good government among them, both in church and state.

He demonstrated, that the distressing evils, under which they groaned, were either brought on or permitted, thro' the ignorance, supineness or corruption of such as were appointed guardians of the rights and liberties of the public in the diet, not otherwise. And, that till fit representatives, upon constitutional principles were chosen, neither they nor posterity could have a right to hope for a reformation.

He made it appear, that legal and just elections were the indispensable duty of every society ; but, that it was particularly incumbent on the city, to shew the first example ; especially, as her own rights were in an especial manner struck at, and the courts of law, as well as the ears of the government were shut against them.

He did not forget to lay before them, in the strongest terms, that they could not, consistent with their duty as loyal subjects, or with their oaths as citizens, chuse any of the scapins, who had perfidiously invaded the rights of the senate and citizens ; especially, as they were set up, and supported, by the managers, who wished for nothing more than seeing the government of the city entirely wrested out of the hands of the citizens and senate, to be placed in those of the scapins, a few creatures, ever under the influence of the government ; as the *Roman* tyrant wished that the people had but one head, that he might cut it off at one blow.

With

With regard to himself, he told them, his motives for embarking in the troubles of an election, were no more than to let the public see his readiness to obey their calls, and to serve in every office to which he should be regularly elected, by the voice of a brave and free people; that as he had no favour to ask, he should solicit none of them, either privately or publicly; that his principal inducement for addressing them in this manner, was to put himself and the other candidates under the necessity of laying themselves open to the public, that the citizens in their public assemblies might see who are candidates; and be enabled, from hearing them on the subject of election and the political state of the city and nation, to judge who may be best qualified to serve the office, for which he sued. He bad them, rather to consider him as a fellow-citizen, come to advise his brethren, upon a pressing emergency, than as a candidate, come to engage their votes. He recommended their using all means to examine and to prove the characters and capacities of the candidates, and if they did not like them, to look out for, and set up others; then, to keep clear of promises and other engagements, till the day of election; and, by the manner of giving their voices, prove themselves honest, sensible, disinterested and free citizens; and thus at once do honour to the elector and the elected, which was only to be done by a disinterested, a judicious, a free choice.

Dighslatfchius prudently confined himself to the affairs of the city; with inveighing against the scapins' encroachments on the rights of the citizens and senate, shewing their unfitness for such offices, and the inconsistency with the character and duty of a good citizen, to give such men a voice; and after a while, joined warmly in every thing *Rutilius* offered, that did not interfere with the present

sent state of the nation or its managers, either at home or in *Danemarch*. To these, he at first affected to pay uncommon, I had like to have said, unbecoming deference, bordering upon servile submission. But, finding it render him unpopular, he at length dropt the subject.

Both these candidates by exercise improved in oratory, so as to be in time most attentively and respectfully heard by all ranks in the city, especially by the citizens; who, when they were assured of the sincerity of these men's zeal, and of their abilities, admitted them into the fellowship and freedom of their several communities, presenting them with gold and silver boxes, and other marks of public approbation and regard, recommending perseverance to them in the principles they thus avowed; and assuring them of the most determined purposes in the city to support them. But this popularity soon became fatal to both the candidates; as nothing could prove more dreadful and dangerous to their antagonists, and their potent patrons, than such a spirit.

Authors however, are not perfectly agreed in the characters of these two distinguished plebeans. A grave, tho' anonymous historian of the age, tells us, that *Dighstatschius*, was the better and the more sensible man, the greater and more powerful orator. And that he appealed to the sense and judgment, while artful *Rutilius* addressed himself to the passions, of his hearers. All that a man, who has not heard these gentleman in person, can say upon the occasion is, that by any remains of their writings, at this time preserved, no foundation for the asserted superiority appears.

The scapins, who could never bring out much more in the assemblies, than a recital of their cringing advertisements, were so exposed to contempt and ridicule, by the plebean candidates, that they

were hissed and laught out of the public halls, and soon after, hooted in their passing thro' the public streets. And thus the election seemed clearly determined, in effect, in favour of the two plebeian candidates; while not a man was found to countenance the scapins, that was not bought or otherwise influenced by private considerations. All that had servile offices dependant on the scapins or burgo-master, all that held places or pensions at the will of the viceroy or managers, were all avowedly engaged to the scapin cadidates; and, except a few moved by private connexions, not a man of any consequence was seen to appear, declare for, or recommend a scapin.

Rutilius, not contented with delivering his sentiments verbally in the assemblies, gave a further testimony of his political principles, publishing the substance of all his orations under his hand. These got into all hands, and were soon spread throughout the kingdom. In these, he revived the liberties granted by the union of *Calmar*, long suppressed and almost buried in oblivion. These, with sundry charters and statutes relating to government, he published, with commentaries in the vulgar tongue. He also transcribed and translated the principal charters of the city, and published them, with a bold and free address to the king, asserting the rights and liberties of the subjects in general, of the citizens of *Bergen* in particular, and complaining of the lawless oppressions and neglects of duty, of governors, judges, and other magistrates in general, particularly of the present viceroy, in slighting or suppressing the complaints of the citizens.

Digbyslatfchius published some of his orations; but was so cautious as to keep clear of government and ministerial matters, in hopes to escape, the iron hand of

of power, which nevertheless fell heavily on him, as well as on his colleague, in the end.

While this gained *Rutilius* universal applause, the most boundless affection and confidence of the citizens in particular; it could not fail of quickening the enmity of the viceroy, and his managers against him. The creatures of power, scanned over the author's papers, with strictness, equal to their malevolence. Lawyers and even judges and senators were consulted, to try to intangle *Rutilius* in his own words. But, to their grief, and all mens surprise, in all the speeches and writings of a man, who wore no sort of disguise, but uttered all his thoughts without restraint or reserve; not a sentence could be found, so unguarded as to admit of prosecution, or even of contradiction. Thus, he for a while triumphed over his enemies, beloved by the multitude, admired by the few wise and good.

The time now approached, when the diet was to be assembled. The first thing essential to be done, was the filling up vacant places. And every scheme engaged the attention of the government, that promised the destruction of *Rutilius* or the preventing his election.

Tarringburgh was all this time in *Copenhagen*, where he had so much the ear of the king or his ministers, as to prevent the address of *Rutilius* or any other complaints being offered to his majesty's hands. He did not chuse to return to *Nordweg*, till means were agreed upon of preventing the election of a man so obnoxious to him and the whole court, as this daring tribune of the people. The scheme being at length laid, to his excellency's mind, he ventured to return to his government; where his second reception by no means equalled the first.

L E T T E R IX.

NOW the scapin candidates began again to appear in public and to solicit votes as they did in the beginning. Upon finding all freemen declare in favour of the two plebean candidates; they told them, from good authority, that all attempts to bring those men into the diet, *Rutilius* in particular, would be vain. That such a prosecution would be soon commenced against him, as he would not be able to withstand; so that he could never come to election. And, as for *Dighflatfchius*, if he should be elected, after his colleague was cut off, which was much to be doubted; it would be only prolonging the troubles in the city; for the members of the common's house were determined he should never sit in the diet, tho' he were elected and returned by unanimous consent of the whole kingdom.

Thus the great secret of the managers transpired. But, it could have made no impression upon the persons threatned; who, however justly, meanly they might have thought of the government; did not think they would dare to interfere with the election of members for the capital, however frequently they had heretofore overturned the elections of inferior stadts or burghs.

Rutilius was most confident in this; and hearing that his papers were censured, his loyalty and affection to the royal family called in question; he went to the viceroy's court, presented him with a collection of his papers, which were then very voluminous, and made such a declaration of his political sentiments, as his excellency could not presume then to disapprove. The candidate explained the motives of his conduct, and declared, that as he had nothing
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but truth in view, if it could be made to appear, that he had in speaking or writing, advanced any thing wrong, he would thank the hand that corrected him, and immediately, as publicly recant, as he had broached or propagated an error.

This was a disposition and declaration, his excellency little expected from a man, who dared to complain of him to the king. He was glad to get the papers, of which he doubted not being able to make a proper use. He accepted them courteously, and dissembled a general satisfaction at the interview. This gave the unsuspecting *Rutilius* new assurance, that the menaces of the scapins and their friends were all vain. But, he was soon after undeceived: for all this dissembled courtesy, was only from hopes of getting some evidence in the papers against the author.

The viceroy by these, having settled the plan of operations, with his managers and vice-managers, opened the diet with a speech from the throne, which was levelled at some distorted sentences in the papers of *Rutilius*. His excellency's agents were well instructed how to act upon the hint. They issued writs for the filling up vacant seats, and before any of the members, but the creatures of the court were assembled; they censured the papers of *Rutilius*; and, upon no other testimony to prove him the author, than the sending those papers which *Rutilius* delivered the viceroy, by his secretary to the house, *Rutilius* was, unhearing and unheard, declared to be the author, voted an enemy to his country, and an infringer of the privileges of the diet. For which, he was, without any legal trial, doomed to gaol first, and then to banishment.

Being thus disqualified for election, an other citizen in the popular interest was set up, and the
election

election came on. But, the grief and confusion, into which the citizens were thrown, by this unparalleled act of violence, took off their attention, hopeless of all success; so that while they in despondency and disorder neglected to give their votes, the slaves of the managers and scapins doubled their diligence in such a manner, that one of the scapins of glummer principles carried his election by a considerable majority; while *Dighslatschius* with difficulty got about an hundred majority of the glymmer scapin.

The elected were returned to the house, and took their seats accordingly. But, no sooner was the return made, than a petition against undue influence and unfair election of *Dighslatschius* was presented to the house. And tho' the very evidence, produced by the petitioner, plainly proved every allegation of the petition false and groundless; yet was the election of this legal, popular member set aside, by the arbitrary power of an herd of the commons in faction assembled, upon no better a pretext than a pretended connexion with the exiled *Rutilius*; but with the important view of taking in a fitter tool for the shameful purposes of an administration hardened in iniquity, and to break the popular power and freedom of the citizens for ever. Here is a piece of tyranny not to be paralleled in the annals of any people yet known; tyranny founded upon falsehood and iniquity; yet established under the colour and sanction of law.

I judged it necessary to dwell more minutely on this point, because without this or some such shock, the constitution of *Nordweg* could hardly have been brought to a final dissolution. The commons had long before wrested elections in this manner, out of the hands of inferior communities; but this was the first time they had directly presumed to assail the

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the head; and the attempt, being attended with success, proved the last, the final blow: whatever struggles were after this made, were but like the agonies of an expiring reprobate; violent indeed, but of short duration.

The managers and viceroy now triumphed, not only over the broken candidates, but over the enslaved city and the undone kingdom. The citizens mourned, and raged. But they saw no refuge left. An armed force was kept ready to awe or to massacre them. So all their murmurs in time subsided: for slavery, like an evil habit of body, by time becomes familiar and habitual.

But, the citizens of *Bergen*, were not the only mourners for this sad catastrophe. Many even of the commons not only lamented the loss of a man, that might have been useful, if not an ornament to the state; but saw with horror his untimely fate, and the iniquitous precedent made in condemning him, without even the form of a legal trial or a just charge of any real crime, as well as the shocking precedent of preventing the subjects choosing their own representatives, or rejecting their representatives, when legally appointed.

These points being thus carried to the satisfaction of the viceroy and his managers, as well as to that of their ministerial masters; every thing else went smoothly thro' the diet for the rest of the session, as the court wished or directed. Indeed, they were obliged to pay their prostitutes. Places were given and pensions multiplied to the trusty agents in iniquity. After these gratifications, the viceroy judged it no unreasonable time to put in for something for himself. He therefore applied for a pension of two thousand crowns a year, which he found no difficulty of obtaining for life. Thus was virtue,
punished

punished, and iniquity rewarded in *Nordweg* and in *Danemarch*.

The populace saw all these things with an evil eye. And many men of sense were shocked at measures that tended to nothing less than the immediate destruction of the nation. The multitude at length grew insolent to the enslavers, especially to the vicéroy, and at last became so outrageous, that the civil power was quite unable to restrain them within peaceable bounds. The vicéroy could not now appear in public, without some violent insult being thrown in his face. To prevent which, he doubled his guards and their ammunition, and planted armed men in all the places of public resort, to keep the people from noise and repining. Finding this serve only to incense them the more, and dreading his life in danger; as soon as he cleared the treasury, he resolved to go as privately as possible to *Danemarch*.

But, he was watched too narrowly to escape unobserved. He did not now venture anywhere without a strong guard. But, his guards were not able to prevent the multitudes hissing, hooting and groaning wheresoever he appeared; the utmost end a guard could answer was to keep the populace from laying violent hands upon the object of their just resentment and aversion. He saw this; and when the heat of the session was over, and all his iniquity compleated, he began to feel those compunctions that generally attend guilty minds, and dreaded he should not be able to enjoy in peace the hardly earned fruits of his shameful administration. He gave orders, as privately as possible, to have his guards of horse and foot doubled, and to have all his minions and managers to attend his embarkation the next day.

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This could not be kept a secret. The citizens heard of it, and they prepared, amidst his numerous train of mercenaries and civil prostitutes, to give him a proper salute at his departure. Bonfires were made all over the town, especially about the water side. The streets, through which he passed, were filled with men, and the windows with women and children. And there was not a mouth silent, nor an hand at rest. Nor was the multitude contented with hissings, hootings, howlings, yellings, groanings, clappings, and all the discordant, shocking sounds, that the natural organs of the incensed could raise; but numbers of the mob were furnished with rattles, catcalls, owl-calls, fowgelders horns, speaking-trumpets, kettles, clevers and marrow-bones, frying-pans and tongues, and every thing that could be devised, with an horrid jargon of untuneful sounds, to wound the ear and distract the senses.

Thus was the feint image of a worthless king attended through the streets. The guards did not presume to interpose; the leaders having orders to let them on, only when the mob should have ran to extremities. The viceroy well knew and dreaded what he deserved. Bonfires and noise were something so mild beyond expectation, that he bore it, as a coward has been known to bear spitting in the face, when sensible he deserved a kicking. So true is it, that conscience makes cowards of us all.

But, if this petty tyrant had dared in an hostile manner to resent this disgraceful treatment, it was prudently put in a great measure out of his power: the guards came only to the side of the little narrow bay, on which he embarked. But, the incensed multitude were chiefly placed on the opposite side, from whence they unmolested assailed his ears and eyes, with all they jarring instruments of

discord, and the exulting blazes of bonfires. There was no abatement of these distracting sounds, but while the shrinking, shuddering tyrant was hailed by speaking trumpets, and charged with all the nefarious crimes of his accursed administration. Each recitative of his guilt was followed by peals of groans and other hideous sounds; all which continued, till he got out of hearing of them, and then the bells were set to ringing, while the night seemed lost in the joyful illumination of every house.

This spirited resentment of the tyrant's conduct, the first that had for a long time been known in *Nordweg*, reached *Danemarch* sooner, than the fell object of the public hate. Its progress could not be stopt till it gained the royal ear. Though the king did not love the *Nordwegians*, those of *Bergen* especially, who retained and lately shewed the strongest sense of liberty; yet he did not chuse to shew his contempt of them, openly, nor approve of any violence offered them, lest it should mar his projects. Besides, however he might have liked the treason, he needs must hate the traitor. This added to his former resentment and just aversion to *Yarringburgh* on another account, gave the king a fair pretext to dismiss one abandoned slave his service. Therefore, he stript this, of all his offices, and forbad him the court.

The late lofty tyrant of *Nordweg* now saw the sad reverse of that sovereign sway, with which he so rapidly over-ran and spoiled the people of *Nordweg* in general, those of *Bergen* in particular. He incurred his master's open and fatal avowal of his secret aversion to him; brought on the hatred of the few good men, and the general contempt of the multitude. He set out a tyrant, but he died a slave: and his hateful memory was buried in oblivion with his putrid corse.

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In all this however, the wretched *Yarringburgh* was not solely to be blamed: it was found, a little before his death, that he was but a tool to his crafty successor, who lurked for, and stepped into his seat, and by artful contrivances gained such an ascendant over the poor declining king, as secured him the first employments, till he at length procured himself a pension of four thousand crowns a year, for life.

Thus *Yarringburgh*, after duping many, lived to see himself duped. But, having no opportunity of retaliation, nor prospect of coming again into play; instead of politics, he laid himself out for gratifying his more private passions. In this too, his powers failed him; so that he was at length, forced to content himself, with having his ears tickled now and then with a tale of bawdry. For this, he chose the lewdest boaster of lascivious feats, to be found. And, that all his prostitutes may not appear unpaid, he rewarded the sole excellence of this minion, with a small pension for his profligate life. Such were the tools that wrought the destruction of *Nordweg* first and then of *Danemarch*!

Who, with the common affections of humanity, can read this detail of the horrid cruelties, thus practised upon the unfortunate *Nordwegians*, unmoved? But, what *Briton* could refrain his indignation, had any king of *England* been found capable of appointing such vicegerents, of countenancing such unheard-of iniquities? How much more merciful is the *Gallic* despot, who at a breath dooms multitudes to gallies, gaols or exile? or the more christian *Turk*, who commits so many necks to the care-easing sabre? When the blood of the present race can sate the tyrant's lust; how much more merciful is it to take their lives, than to intail destructive slavery on generations yet unborn? Yet, of this later cast, was the tyranny of perfidious *Danemarch*, while her spurious sons set themselves up as

perfect patterns of liberty at home!—How unlike the heroic monarchs, the noble, the valiant, the legitimate sons of *Great Britain and Ireland*? Let who will draw the comparison. Let you and me keep clear of home; and seek for more cheerful company abroad.

L E T T E R X.

YOU probably will now ask, did wretched *Nordweg* long survive these deadly wounds? In name alone she did, but even that, not long. Her places of profit and trust, whether in the church, the army or the state, that were deemed worthy of the acceptance of the meanest of *Danish* favourites or their creatures, on such were all conferred. No wonder then her vices, moral as well as political, should be, as they were, multiplied, rendered complicate, intractable, incurable.

The situation of the country, and the necessity of the people, conspired to extend their trade, in spight to *Danish* oppressions. And the riches, this brought in, joined with the industry of the viceroy and managers, introduced the extremes of luxury. No *Nordwegian* of fortune could now be seen to eat a meal of wholesome, native food. Three or four of the remotest quarters of the globe must be ransacked to furnish out a rich tradesman's breakfast or afternoon's repast. And servants in time caught the genteel infection of their masters. Spruce beer, the strengthening liquor of their forefathers, fell to the hinds and labourers alone. While the intoxicating liquors, with the destructive modes of *France*, became fatally necessary to all.

This lust for foreign luxuries, causing a considerable increase in the imports, occasioned an unfought and unforeseen redundance of the public funds. So that the imposts, calculated to raise certain sums for the public emergencies, after these were all

all answered, left near eighty thousand crowns in the treasury, all demands, illicit as well as just, being fully discharged.

The nation having been before run in debt, upon the same pretext with *Danemarch*, the public hoped some good might result from their vices; that their luxuries increasing the public revenues, far beyond any demands the government had hitherto thought fit to make, the redundance might be applied to the payment of the national debt.

The court looked upon this redundance with another eye: they foolishly imagined, and dreaded, it was a proof of the riches, though it was evidently the poverty and ruin, of the nation. It was now judged a convenient time to set up a claim to this treasure, in behalf of the crown. And the better to secure it, as well as to give some favourite an opportunity of reaping some private advantages from this wealth in the treasury, the count de *Dorensaght* was again pitched upon as viceroy, a man conversant in the ways of the people, among whom, he still artfully retained some reputation and a considerable interest. This was supposed to be the crafty contrivance of the count and his primate.

This nobleman set out in all respects well qualified to fulfil the intentions of the court, which in small instances, as well as great, appeared to be nothing less than the impoverishing and inslaving the *Nordwegians*. This viceroy was again well received in *Nordweg*. He was attended by one of his sons, who had made a figure in the university, and to whom he had already given a high commission in the army and one of the first civil employments; which created him many dependants. Some of these thought it a pity, their young master could not have a dispensation to hold a bishopric or some good ecclesiastical preferment, in commendam, with his civil and military employments. It had often,
indeed,

indeed, been under consideration, to make one man hold many offices, rendering him answerable for the conduct of his substitutes. It was seen, that this was a very compendious and sure method of ruling an enslaved people, could the principals be relied on. But, the number of creatures and tools to be gratified, made the scheme pretty much impracticable in *Nordweg*, as well as in *Danemarch*; tho' powerful favourites held several pluralities of employments, as well in church as state.

When the viceroy had prepared his managers, and instructed his trusty minions to execute his projects, he opened the diet. He declared the king's invariable love for the people; his joy in their prosperity. And he recommended their providing laws for the encouragement of arts and sciences; by which, he meant only manufactures and fishery, not commerce; for in this, they were allowed but a very small share. He recommended perseverance in their accustomed affection and loyalty, and unanimity and dispatch in their councils. And assured them, he had nothing to ask, but the usual supplies for the support of the establishment: he was silent with respect to the surplus in the treasury; for that, he meant to seize on, as the incontestible property of the crown.

This declaration however, was but the necessary, the usual covering for the deepest designs of viceroys. Their speeches indeed, were now always written for them. And though they were not always the most sensible, just, or even correctly expressed; as they were written by the same hand that made the king's speech, from which they were generally, *mutatis mutandis*, taken; and as the king's speech, such as it was, was acceptable to the mighty *Danes*; if the viceroy's could possibly be some degrees worse, it must have been good and acceptable enough, to the wretched *Nordwegians*,
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who were now hardly to be allowed choice or judgment in any thing.

This speech served to give the necessary hints to the instructed tools of the court; while it was approved as fair, open and honest, by the undesigning and unwary.

The commons, as well as the nobles, answered this speech affectionately and respectfully; complimenting the count upon his experienced wisdom and approved regard to the country. And, in addresses to the king, among many terms of adulation, if not servility, thanked him for this new proof of his paternal affection to his loyal subjects of *Nordweg*, in sparing so valuable a counsellor a second time from his royal presence, and sending so just and worthy a representative of his majesty to rule his faithful people.

It must have been inconsistent with the dignity, derogatory to the sagacity of the diet, to see any thing wrong in a character so well established as that of this revered viceroy. But, *Nordwegian* as well as *Danish* diets had now been often known to stoop to flattery and falsehood, as well as their masters. Honest men might have taken such declarations as these for realities; but men conversant with the world, knew them to be but rank dissimulation, on both sides; what well-bred liars in our days call, words of course.

The commons, under the late viceroy, became excessively unpopular, and hateful to such a degree, that it was with the utmost difficulty *Rutilius* was able to save them from the hands of the enraged populace, who resolved to massacre an herd of perfidious betrayers of the public liberties. This, they certainly had effected, had not this man's authority seconded his humanity. The public indignation was then but suspended, not appeased: for, the exiled *Rutilius* still lived in every generous heart.

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As the excessive weight of the national debt was one of the greatest evils complained of by this and the other popular tribune; the commons thought to lessen the respect paid these, and acquire some for themselves, by laying hold of the opportunity of an overflowing treasury, to lessen the burden of the public debt. They therefore prepared a bill for applying the redundant money in the treasury, to this purpose; which for a while gained them some degrees of credit and popularity. But, it did not last long.

This however, was a stroke, the court could not have expected: it was never doubted, that all the money might at any time be applied to whatever purposes the king or his ministers thought fit; otherwise, such a bone of contention had probably been, by royal authority, graciously removed, before the diet had assembled. It was not however yet found convenient or necessary to come to a direct rupture with men, who never yet gave any remarkable opposition to the dictates of power. It would indeed be impolitic to quarrel with a people, who were ever willing to be taxed to any expence, to bribe their representatives, even to their undoing: they, like the *Danes*, placed their utmost hope and all their trust in their diets. While they had these frequently assembled, they feared no invasion of the political constitution possible; they thought themselves beyond the reach of danger. Yet we shall see, that the diets of both kingdoms soon wrought their respective ruin. Such is the difference between those *Nordwegian* and *Danish* diets, and our *Irish* and *English* parliaments! O *Britain!* live for ever!

The court documented all her slaves in the diet, ordering them to oppose this bill, and save her the trouble of shewing the force of her single arm in commanding obedience to her sovereign will. But,
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the demands and expectations of these worthy servants rose with the redundancy in the treasury. They looked for additional rewards, and for want of those, with some other unforeseen accidents, the bill pass'd the commons, setting forth the national debt, reciting the surplus money in the treasury, and enacting, that it should be applied, as far as it could extend, to the discharge of a part of the debt. It was then ordered to be sent to the viceroy, addressing him to send it in the usual form to be approved by the king and his senate in *Danemarch*.

Now the court thought its projects foiled, if not its rights invaded: they did not yet think it seasonable to refuse the application of public money to the discharge of the public debt. But, as they were determined to infix a property in all present and future redundancies, at any rate, by any means; they inserted a clause of a most extraordinary nature in the preamble of the bill. And by taking care to instruct and gratify all their minions to the highest, they got it past, clogged as they wished.

While any sense of liberty, any regard to the constitution remained, after *Gortzman's* law, in *Nordweg*; it was a determined rule with the commons to reject any money bill, in which the least alteration was made either by the nobles, the viceroy and senate of *Nordweg*, or the king and his senate in *Danemarch*.

But, luxury and consequent poverty and corruption, introduced more politeness; so that altered or even dictated bills were received and pass'd by both houses.

It was also ever heretofore deemed a fundamental principle of their policy, that the king or his representative should know nothing of the proceedings in any house or chamber of the diet, till it was offered for the royal assent. Hence money bills were ever past upon the petition, remonstrance or offer of the commons; as all other public bills were,

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upon recitals of the causes that made a statute necessary, and then enacting the provisions for or against the recited wants or evils.

All this was done without any influence, any interposition or knowledge of the king, without any mention of his name, but in a prayer, that it may, for the reasons recited, be enacted, by his majesty, with the jointconsent and authority of the nobles and commons. Andtho' this was known to the most ignorant to be an essential, an invariable part of the constitution; yet were all the speaking members in both houses, with a great majority of their dependants, so far bribed by places, pensions or promises, as to make them prostitute themselves to slavery, disgrace and infamy; to give up the people's right to the present and all future surplus money in the treasury; to acknowledge it at the disposal of the crown; and not only to permit interpolations to be made in money bills, but to alter the essential form of a statute, and to suffer the king or the viceroy to dictate or give leave to the commons, to frame a bill for the disposal of money; which, after the exigencies for which it was provided were answered, by every rule of reason and of law, must have reverted to the doners.

This was done by inserting, in the recital of a certain sum of surplus money in the bill, words implying the king's property in that sum, and his consent to the framing and passing such a bill. This might seem to some a most gracious condescension, a special grace and favour, had the money belonged to the crown. But, it was the result of taxes, granted for the service of the public, by accident increasing to a greater sum than could be expended for the service intended. Common sense alone is sufficient to shew, that this must have belonged to the doners, and must have lain only at the disposal of the diet, not otherwise.

But,

But, political prostitution now declared for the newly assumed prerogative; the alteration in the bill, being a precedent for changing the essential form of statutes, and a tacit, if not a direct, acknowledgment of the king's sole right to the disposal of the money in question, and a declaration of his power of interfering with, limiting and directing, the deliberations of the diet, was with inconsiderable opposition received, and without a division, past, both in the house of commons and in that of the nobles.

The populace, whose hopes were raised by the setting out of the commons, were now greatly incensed at the disappointment. However, some accidents concurred to calm their rage and keep up some sparks of hope. The height of the rewards given to gain this point, the boundless extent of them in places and pensions to the remotest relations and dependants of powerful members, together with the discovery of some equality in the distribution, served to raise a new spirit of opposition, among those that had not before been taken in: this was found the sure way to preferment, while the greatness of the rewards contributed to raise jealousies among those who had been amply paid for their prostitution, when they saw others obtain greater favours. In short, the whole body of the commons expected to be taken in, and those that shared most in the plunder, thought themselves not sufficiently considered. So each with himself resolved to raise his value, and to procure better terms than were yet offered; knowing the desperate service demanded exorbitant wages.

They saw the government had gained one great point; for the facilitating which, they thought themselves intitled to much higher rewards; as of all assassins, parricides should be the best paid. Now, they resolved to make a few experiments to shew

their weight and value with the government, and to keep the populace in some hope and good humour.

They began with voting some money for public purposes. Which the viceroy and managers ever looked upon as so much drawn out of their private coffers. The next thing of any consequence done, besides the setting aside some fair elections, in the usual manner, was the setting on foot an enquiry into the conduct of some officers of the crown in the laying out of public money. This was at once the most just and unprecedented proceeding, this long-lived diet had ever known.

As a pretext to gloss over the drawing great sums of money out of the treasury, almost every viceroy was countenanced with a grant of a certain sum, for some certain purpose, others for an unlimited sum for the general good of the state. Under cover of this, every viceroy, with the help of his sharing managers, took what money he thought fit, and the more, if he was never to return again, upon assurance of never being called to an account. Thus money was granted for fortifications, arms, &c. to several viceroys, who never offered any account, nor were ever called to for one. Yet such an inquiry was now thought a good means for trying the strength of parties, and quieting the murmurs of a discontented and a dreaded populace.

The commons pitched upon a creature of the viceroy, by him appointed to build and repair forts, garrisons, harbours, &c. under an address of their house. They might have pitched as well upon any other person intrusted with the disbursement of public money, and for any length past, as well as for the present time, and they could have found nothing but extravagance and fraud. But, partly
from

from private pique, this officer was singled out, precipitately censured, ordered to make his work better, and to give fairer accounts.

This pleased the populace, while it gave great offence to the court, who, never suspecting any enquiry of this nature, was not sufficiently prepared to oppose it. The session of the diet soon after this ended: when, to put this officer out of the reach of the censure of the commons, as superseded viceroys are, he was permitted to sell his employment, before the next assembly of the diet.

The viceroy thought the resentment of the commons would cool before the next session, or that when the object of it was removed, they would not pursue their vengeance further. Moreover, he in effect set them at defiance by this step. And instead of soothing them, as heretofore, into good humour, with the sunshine of smiles, when places or promises were not given; he now resolved to try what an haughty carriage might effect; and therefore, putting some in mind of what they had got, what they then possessed and held only during the pleasure of the crown; he intimated some menaces of depriving them of these benefits, if they did not forthwith concur with the measures, for which they were thus amply rewarded.

This was but a wrong step. Men who did every thing required, while they were gratified, were intitled to higher wages, when greater services than ordinary were expected. This was the scheme of government till now. And when once a threat was uttered against one placed or pensioned member, many others in the like circumstances, dreading the same fate, saw no means of securing themselves or procuring higher terms, than joining and thereby letting the viceroy see their value, by the power of their opposition. By this means a coalition of parties
was

was brought about, which this viceroy was never able to dissolve.

The business of the session being concluded, the viceroy returned to *Danemarch*. Where he found his principal and the whole people well pleased with his services. He returned at the usual time to hold the diet in *Nordweg*, where he found the commons and the whole people in a worse disposition, if possible, than he left them. However, it was now thought time to try what threats might effect; and by all means, to push this people to extremity. It could not to be sure be doubted, that there could be any difficulty in making them yield by force to any measures, when foul corruption had swayed their actions for so many years, without a notion of any other motive.

All that had any thing to ask or to fear from the government, all its creatures in the church, the army, and the state, and all the bribed band of pensioned or promise-fed dependants, were ordered, under the penalty of the court's displeasure, to coincide, with their utmost might, in promoting the measures of the government; in every particular of which they were carefully instructed.

Some few thought too well of the king to suppose he could authorize such iniquitous, slavish measures. Others formed strong connexions with powerful factions, from which they promised themselves nothing less, than shewing the viceroy, by a question or two, that they were necessary to him, and therefore, worth his purchase at any price proposed; while an inconsiderable number, from motives purely conscientious, opposed themselves to the shameful purposes of the government, and some few moderate or timid members steered a middle course between the extremes of the court and the new patriots.

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In one of the first meetings of the commons, they resumed the subject of the engineer, the officer, censured the last session. They found, no regards were paid to their orders. Upon which, they were going to proceed against him with rigour, calling him, as before, the engineer. Accordingly the engineer was summoned before the house. He appeared to be a quite different man, who had by no means offended; the real object of their wrath being removed. He however was easily found out; for he was a member of the house, where he thought himself quite out of the reach of his adversaries. But, their rage was now raised too high to know any narrow bounds: they expelled him the house, passed a bill, making his estate answerable for the imposition by him laid upon the public. The former part of the censure, the commons themselves executed; but the latter part, which required the concurrence of royal power, was laid aside; for the viceroy and his managers gave open proof of their intentions, by rejecting the bill with indignation in the senate.

This step of the commons, so unusual, so unexpected, greatly raised the drooping spirits of the populace; while the measures of the viceroy extremely irritated both the diet and people. The citizens of *Bergen* gave public testimony of their regard to the one and contempt of the other: every member that appeared resolute in opposition to a court, now avowedly bent upon the ruin of the people, was caressed and honoured; while the viceroy and his managers and creatures were hissed and hooted in the open streets and public places.

Notwithstanding all this, the viceroy was yet persuaded he should carry his point, by corruption, or by open force. While the commons, on the other hand, assured themselves, they would by their union, seconded by the cries of the populace, be able to conquer

conquer the pride and obstinacy of this governor, and procure higher wages for themselves, if not from him, from his successor. No wonder then they stood out, with such seeming resolution, that so great virtue never appeared in a diet in *Nordweg*: for, except strengthening the prevailing party by overturning the elections of all new members, that were not of their side, they did nothing that had not the highest approbation of the most honest and discerning men. They might have deceived the very elect.

L E T T E R X I .

THE next question of importance to come before the commons was, with respect to the disposal of more surplus money, arising as the last did since the preceding assembly of the diet. Besides what was by votes disposed of for public uses, a bill was brought in for the disposal of the residue, in discharge of the national debt.

Neither the viceroy or his managers could have doubted the precedent's taking place in this, which was made in the last assembly of the diet. But, the commons, who resolved to set themselves in opposition to the chief governor, whether right or wrong; now laid aside their former inviolable regard to dietical precedents, and so fiercely set themselves against their own proceedings in the last assembly, as to suffer no bill to pass, or even to be a second time read in the house, that glanced at any previous consent of the crown to the framing, debating upon or passing any bill, and least of all a bill for the disposal of public money. Thus the commons, thro' pure opposition, resumed the sacred rights they had given up in the last preceding assembly. This was

was attended with the loudest acclamations and applauses of a people, transported with such semblances of good sense and virtue, as they had never before experienced, in the diet. They therefore began to think the commons were converted, and to conceive warm hopes of a speedy reformation.

The bill was sent in due form to the viceroy, who soon determined to alter it to the minds of himself and his master, upon the plan of the former bill. And being in some measure authorized by precedent, thought he should incur no evil imputation, by forcing the commons to pay dietic regard to dietic precedents, and so making them act consistent with themselves, in one instance.

He and his senate therefore soon reformed the bill, and sent it in the usual form to the king and his senate at *Copenhagen*. Thence, it was returned without alteration, being found literally agreeable to the bill for the like purposes past in the last assembly. Thus it was sent down to the commons, not without denouncing loud threats of speedy vengeance, against all creatures and dependants of the crown, as well against such as should oppose it in the house, as against those that should not exert their utmost influence and authority to procure its being past.

The confederate commons now plainly saw, that they could have no chance of keeping their places, so good as by remaining firm in their opposition. They easily judged what measures they were to expect, if this, or any succeeding governor should find, he might carry points without them; and were likewise sensible, the surest way of bringing the viceroy to their terms, was by letting him know and feel how much he was in their power.

Few arguments could be necessary to determine the actions of men thus prepossessed. The reformed bill was brought in and debated in such a manner as

to shew how ignorant, how servile or how factious either party was: the courtiers could urge no rule of right for declaring the public funds undisposed of by the diet, at the sole disposal of the crown. They dwelt only on the force of precedents and the sacred rights and prerogatives of the crown, whose wisdom, justice and paternal love of the people, with those of his most gracious viceroy, they extolled to the skies. They shewed how ungrateful, as well as how unprecedented a thing it was to deny either, a confidence ever heretofore reposed in their predecessors. And declared, the alterations made in the bill could not be supposed, were they, as they surely were not, insidious in any sense; to be strained to serve any purpose prejudicial to the diet or people of *Nordweg*, by any branch of the illustrious family on the throne, or the present gracious viceroy; who had already given this kingdom so many proofs of his affectionate regards.

These were heretofore, upon the like occasions, the standing arguments of those that now opposed the government. They could not then be supposed to offer the weighty arguments, that good sense and virtue should suggest upon this occasion. They did, not attempt to shew, what every man of sense must see, that whatever arose from any tax, over and above the sum, for the raising of which it was granted, must have reverted to the donors; for the same reason, that any tax falling short in producing the granted sum, the deficiency is ever to be made up by a new grant from the diet. They did not attempt to explain the danger and the iniquity of making a precedent for the king's interposing in the debates in the diet, claiming a sole right to the disposal of the redundancies of the public funds, and overturning the essential form of a statute. Each carried a more forcible argument about him. Each had long lived
a per-

apernicious, preternatural excrescence upon the vitals of the public. Each blood-sucker had become so prodigal, that his own patrimony, as well as the public treasure, was exhausted to support his luxury and pride. And the losing what they drew from the public, or the missing of the honours or other preferments, they had in view, was to such more terrible than death. Therefore, stick close was the word. The exigencies of the public was the pretext. The force of precedents was exploded. The common rights to be considered. Diffidence in the king, his family or his viceroy, disclaimed. The prerogative was best supported by preserving the freedom and rights of the diet inviolable. Therefore, the bill as it stood altered, without the consent or knowledge of the commons, could not be justly past.

When all that chose to speak had done, the question was demanded and put, whether the bill should pass in this form? And it was carried in the negative, to the unspeakable disappointment and dissatisfaction of the whole court; especially, that of the viceroy, who promised himself and his master, that he should have the honour of completing the dissolution of *Nordweg*, in order to facilitate and expedite that of *Danemarch*.

The commons on their parts were hardly less disappointed and dissatisfied. The ring-leaders never intended matters should be brought to this extremity. Every member was assured, his demands, however exorbitant, must be granted. While the viceroy thought, they were to be as easily brought to the lure, as when he was first sent to rule them. Then, the naming of a moderate place or pension to any member, was enough to secure the votes of him and his. But, as the government required greater, harder services; the servile members insisted upon

greater wages. And so, each party mistaking the other, they respectively missed their aims.

The importance of this question could not fail of engaging the public attention. The multitude envied the diet, while it was depending. This did not a little edge on the opponents to activity; while it greatly damped the spirits of the advocates for it, who were so terrified at the shouts and acclamations of the populace, that they did not dare to go out of the great doors, nor the direct way home; but skulked out at back-doors, even at windows, and snaked thro' by-ways, in fear and confusion.

The next day did not pass before the viceroy put some of his threats in execution: he struck some off the list of senators. He discharged several civil and military officers of the first distinction; even tho' many of them had actually purchased every promotion they enjoyed. And numbers of pensioners, who had for years past, well, hardly earned the wages of iniquity, being active in every wicked job; were, for once failing in their obedience, struck off; all to shew the resentment of the government and the length and strength of its arms.

The disappointed, angry commons also on their parts proceeded to extremities. Hitherto, the king might have been supposed ignorant of all these transactions, and it was his intension to be thought so, as well in *Nordweg* as *Danemarch*, however deep he might have been concerned in the destructive plot. It was the viceroy's business to keep his master clear of all suspicion; well knowing, that the king would give him up, and throw the whole blame of the misconduct upon his substitute, whenever suspicion glanced at the royal principal.

Now, the commons were preparing to pass some angry resolutions against the viceroy, and against his son, upon whom they strongly fastened the
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the charge of influencing elections, and corrupting the elected, as well as some glaring abuses in his several offices. They resolved to vindicate their own conduct, and complain of that of the viceroy to the sovereign; which must probably have been attended with fatal consequences, and blown up the schemes of both. But, this the viceroy had address to prevent, by abruptly proroguing the diet, the greatest part of the public business being left undone, and even when some bills waited only for the royal assent, for the passing which thro' the different forms of both houses, thro' the senate in *Nordweg* and that in *Danemarch*, the poor *Nordwegians* were forced to pay, whatever might be their fate.

These were such open violences as *Nordweg*, amidst all her distresses, had never before experienced. The viceroy was himself so sensible of it, that dreading the consequence of incensing the sovereign, by a miscarriage; he dispatched an express to the ministry in *Danemarch*, to inform the king and them, that the whole people of *Nordweg*, headed by the diet, were preparing for a general revolt. That as the army kept them in awe and prevented open outrages, the commons resolved to testify their disaffection by seditious and disloyal votes and addresses, in the way of ordinary proceedings of the diet; to obviate which, he had judged it best to prorogue a diet, bent more upon mischief and disloyalty, than any regard to the public affairs.

This was a disappointment, which the king could not well bear, who had had repeated assurances of his viceroy's compleating his schemes in *Nordweg*. However he disliked it, he thought it best to countenance his minister longer, to encourage him or his successors to persevere in the enslaving projects.

The long suppressed rage of the populace, to whose lot fell all the honesty and public spirit of both kingdoms, was now blown up into a raging flame.

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However, they were deterred from any other acts of violence, than meeting in tumults, expressing aloud their indignation against the viceroy and managers; at whose doors alone, they laid all the blame; for they never yet suspected the benevolence of the king. Hence, crowding about the houses of the opposing commons, whom they promised to support at the expence of their lives, they soon after presented them with medals struck in honour of the opposition upon the memorable occasion; giving them the most respectable, but most abused, title of, the patriots. They soon after this, learned the purport of the expresses sent the king, which carried their indignation beyond bounds; for, the viceroy and his servants, domestic as well as dietic, were grossly insulted in the public streets; and his son, who was at once secretary to the regency and secretary to the senate, dreading the fury of the mob's falling more upon him, who had drawn up and sent off the false dispatches; thought it most adviseable to retire and never after shew his face, in that incensed kingdom.

Nordweg was never since the union of *Calmar*, known in such a ferment, in such a consternation. And the spirit of the populace was every where kept up by clubs and other factious associations, raised by the patriots, as the opponents of the court now stiled themselves, as indeed they might with propriety, had their hearts corresponded with their words and actions. But, they were only acting parts, which few had penetration to discover.

The people of *Copenhagen* soon learned the purport of the viceroy's dispatches to the crown. They were perswaded that the *Nordwegians* had risen in rebellion, and conscious of the provocations they had been instrumental to the giving this people, so far dreaded the fury of their just resentment, that
instead

instead of daring to prepare to take arms to oppose the insurrection, they contented themselves with drawing their effects very abruptly out of the hands of the merchants of *Nordweg*, and inserting a new petition in their prayers, From the fury of the *Nordwegians*, good Lord deliver us !

The drawing out of time upon the merchants, whose imports far exceeded their exports, with the long stagnation of a great sum of the circulating money of the kingdom in the treasury, concurred with other circumstances to break several bankers in the principal cities, and of course, reduced numbers of merchants to bankrupts.

This confusion a little frightened the government; who, seeing the dastardly state of the *Danes*, dreaded a real insurrection in *Nordweg*, which might not be easily quelled. To obviate greater mischiefs, the viceroy, more prudently than legally, ordered the money in the treasury to be lent out to some favourite bankers and others, and ordered the several collectors of taxes and imposts to receive the notes of the remaining bankers, as current money in all payments of the revenues.

This prevented the general extinction of public credit, and helped to appease the enraged multitude. And in a little time after, the king to shew his utter contempt of the diet and people of *Nordweg*, and to take to himself solely the merit of discharging the public debt, out of funds of whose disposal he lately arrogated to himself the sole right ; gave the treasurer of *Nordweg* his commands to lay out the surplus in the treasury, as far as it might extend, in payment of the national debt. The treasurer obeyed. And though the diet and people of *Nordweg* must have seen that the king was at the bottom of all this iniquity, thus disposing by his absolute power of the property of the public, without the
consent

consent of them or their representatives; yet, did they not swerve a single shade from their allegiance and affection to him and his family; but threw the whole blame upon his substitute, even tho' he appeared but faithful to his trust.

L E T T E R X I I .

EVERY sensible reader will ask, was there no body in either kingdom, that had penetration enough to discover the evil tendency of these wicked measures? virtue enough to oppose them? or to alarm the public?—As for the stupid, short-sighted *Danes*, when they found there was no danger of an insurrection, they exulted at the oppression of their envied brethren. And as for the poor *Nordwegians*, the true spirit of liberty fled with the banished *Rutilius*. There were some honest, some discerning men left; but none remained, that dared to exert themselves, as this ill-fated tribune had done, in defence of his country, and in ascertaining and endeavouring to confine the prerogative royal and the powers of ministers, within due bounds.

This unfortunate exile was now in *Copenhagen*, where he saw and felt all the fatal wounds given his country. He now lost all hopes of returning home in peace, with honour. He saw the honest populace made dupes to pretended patriots, who were all actuated by motives that centered all in sordid self. He had forecast enough to judge what the consequences must be. He laid all open to the magistrates and citizens of *Copenhagen*. He found one half of these glums of the most malignant cast, who drew great hopes of the progress of their cause from the commotions now raised in *Nordweg*. These men at first sight caressed *Rutilius*, and would have gladly inlisted

inlisted him in their bands. The other half were servile courtiers, who called themselves glyms. These dreaded the commotions in *Nordweg*; because they might prove injurious or troublesome to the *Danish* ministry, whom most of these citizens had the honour of serving as bankers, stock-jobbers, smugglers, mercers, taylor, shoemakers or the like; but more especially, because their corrupt and dastard hearts, had lately felt the most horrid pannic, from a most inconsiderable rebellious rabble.

These too would have embraced *Rutilius*, had he not treated both parties with equal contempt, scorning to join with either. However, he undeceived the elated glums, and removed the fears of the frightened glyms, by assuring each, that there was no tendency to a rebellion or insurrection in *Nordweg*, nor any disaffection to the king or the royal family.

He shewed indeed, that the measures of administration for ages past, as well as the present, were calculated for the overthrowing the political constitutions of *Nordweg* and her capital, and that the schemes of the projectors were now nearly brought to bear; and, without pretending to the gift of prophecy, demonstrated, from the connexion of both kingdoms under one head and one form of government, that soon after the completion of these enslaving schemes in *Nordweg*, which had for some time delighted their mistaken brethren in *Danemarch*; the like measures must prove no less successful in dissolving the political constitution of the vaunting, self-sufficient *Danes*.

As for the present commotions, he made it appear, that they were but a contest for power between the heads of factions in the commons, and the viceroy and his primate, who now and then found it expedient to let monarchical power loose upon their opponents. That this would be carried no further than the gratification of the factious leaders in some

succeeding assembly of the diet. That these took up a popular question, and got the honest, unsuspecting populace of their side, with the sole intent of giving a weight to their opposition, which it could not otherwise have had; and proved their candour and zeal but feigned to serve a private purpose; from these considerations, that they let the like question pass without opposition in the last assembly, and that they now gave opposition in a manner that shewed, that they had taken the popular side, without knowing how much they were in the right, as the tenour of their own arguments evinced.

He blamed the credulity of the citizens of *Bergen*, for confiding in the commons, after he had proved their leaders void of sense and knowledge, void of every virtue, of every qualification for their stations. These, he published in two addresses to the magistrates, senate and citizens of *Copenhagen*, the one prefixt to an edition of his works, for which he was exiled by the commons of *Nordweg*, as a caution to the *Copenhageners* and *Danes* in general, and a vindication of his own conduct and character; the other in a complaint or a kind of an appeal to the citizens against the conduct of their magistrates, in suppressing the former address.

But, there was not attention enough to any works of this kind, to rouse the public from a political lethargy, which luxury, effeminacy and corruption had induced. The citizens of *Bergen*, who had yet curiosity enough to read any thing that bore the name of *Rutilius*, were almost the only readers of these addresses. But, their reading of them now served only to lessen the credit and authority of their late favourite. They saw their country and their city exposed abroad in a contemptible, tho' a true light. This grieved their generous spirits. And their pride was hurt, by charging them with being

so weak as to be duped by the now prevailing party of the commons, whom they yet looked upon, in a quite different light; for the integrity of the citizens hearts made them readily believe every man, what he professed. Hence they considered the opposing commons as true patriots, the redeemers of their country, for whom it was not possible for the people to shew the deserved love and respect. Thus fell at one blow the credit of *Rutilius*, with his late admiring countrymen and fellow citizens; while the reputation of their commons was raised to the utmost pitch. How justly, shall be shewn in the sequel.

The viceroy had now finished all the business he could hope to compass this year; and now thought it time to return to the royal presence. He well remembered the treatment, the incensed populace gave his predecessor, and the fatal consequences of his infamous exit. He only waited to obviate these. But could not for some time tell how. He at length recollected how his fellow ministers in *Copenhagen* were obliged to keep the mob in pay, as much as to hire guards for their master. But, upon trial, he found the mob of all *Nordweg*, that of *Bergen* in particular, down to the lowest porter, so enraged against his administration, that it would have been less difficult to stir them up to massacre him and his minions, than to hire them to shew him or his creatures any sort of civility.

While he was intangled in this dilemma, he consulted *Marlewitz* the chief president of the high court. This high justice had long been conversant with *Gibcknaves* and *Leiborkins*, inferior civil officers corresponding with our sub-sheriffs and hackney-justices, whom he had frequently employed in the basest work. The one served him in packing and corrupting, the assessors of the several courts; the

other was employed as a sort of thief-trap. The later had offenders brought before him, and by artifices and threats, extorted confessions from them, or frightened them into declarations, that left them so much in his power, that most of those that suffered, fell by the illicit evidence of this perverter of justice, and these were but low transgressors, who could not, by any profits of pitiful thefts, afford to bribe his worship. But, he took care of the brave, hardy, promising villains, who knew how to get considerable booty. A numerous, trusty band of these were now tributary to this practised retailer of justice. He had them in his power; they were ever at his beck, and he never brought one of them to the gallows, unless he found him refractory, backward in his tribute, or likely to turn informer against some of the trusty ministers of this minister of iniquity.

Such was the man found by the president the most fit to serve the noble viceroy. The *Leiborkin* happened at this time to be obliged to keep out of the way, on account of an impertinent imputation of compositions with malefactors, somewhat like a misprision of felony. The president, who had for some time skreened him from law, knew where to find the lurking justice. He appeared upon assurance of the viceroy's protection. It was proposed to him to secure a strong mob to attend the exit of his excellency, and to silence all such as should offer the kind of treatment given his worthy predecessor.

The justice undertook the task, upon condition of a certain gratuity and security of a free pardon for his past transgressions, with sufficient arms and an indemnity for him and his mob in the present undertaking. All he asked was granted. A pardon was past, a sum of money out of the treasury, with cutlasses and pistols out of the arsenal, were given for

for the present expedition, and a pension promised upon his success.

The assurances this slave could give, with a favourable interposition of the moon, were sufficient to determine the day of the viceroy's departure. He set out in the usual state, with the addition of some hundreds of ruffians, armed with cutlasses, pistols, and other offensive weapons. This was the court mob. The anti-court mob, unsuspecting this, had no arms, and therefore, were so far surprized and intimidated, as to keep silence for a while.

At length, seeing the viceroy imbark, the anti-court mob began their intended jargons of hissing, hooting, screaming and the like; whereupon, the hired court-justice gave the word of command to his mirmidons, who furiously set upon the unarmed populace, killed some and wounded several. The citizens, seeing the court riot run to this extremity, thought fit to interpose. They assailed the courtiers, took several prisoners and disarmed them, and put the rest of the ruffians, with their mercenary commander, to the rout.

The whole city was now alarmed, and the magistrates were assembled to quell the riot and adjudge the rioters. The citizens brought several of the offenders before the burgomaster and scapins, who at first sight resolved to proceed with just rigour against the offenders. The evidence proved the facts of riot and bloodshed upon the prisoners, upon which the justices were ready to commit them. But, upon calling for the arms found upon them, it appeared that they were the arms of the royal arsenal. This was enough to stop the course of justice in *Bergen*, where the magistrates were now the creatures of the government. The prisoners declared how, by whom, and for what purposes, arms were delivered them; upon which, for fear of
offending

offending the viceroy or his managers, these rioters were dismissed, without so much as a reprimand. Some attempts were afterwards made to prosecute the riotous court-justice. But, tho' the facts were clearly proved upon him, so that a less dependant court than that of the city must have found him guilty; yet, by the interposition of the government, he was saved harmless, and rewarded with a pension upon the state for life. And about the same time, the president *Marlewitz*, retired from his office in peace, upon a pension of eight hundred crowns a year, for his life.

Did ever people shew such plain forerunners of a falling state? Did ever people retain the notion or the name of freedom after such violences passing unpunished? The world well knows, by precedents on record, how the people of *Britain* would have resented such treatment given the subjects of *Ireland*, by any viceroy or principal. Of this, we have the fullest and most memorable examples in the case of Lord *Strafford* and his ill-counselled master; who both lost their lives upon much less provocation than were now given in *Nordweg* and *Danemarch* by the count *de Dorensaght* and his master *Christiern IV.* of despicable memory. Such is the difference between a corrupt, degenerate, slavish race, and men inspired with manly sentiments of virtue and liberty, as *Britons* and their kings have ever proved.

LETTER XIII.

THE count having named the trusty primate, the high chancellor, and the president of the commons, his deputies in the regency, and thus secured to himself a safe, tho' an infamous retreat,

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got to *Danemarch*, and to the royal presence, before any noise about the manner of his departure from *Nordweg* could have reached either. And tho' the king was not quite well pleased with the success of his viceroy's administration, having expected still greater; yet, his majesty judged it best to countenance his substitute, in order to conceal his own measures; the divulging of which might be fatal, if any sense or virtue had remained. Therefore, to bind him to secrecy, as well as to encourage him or his successor to go farther upon the next occasion; the king gave him and his family all public marks of favour.

The ferment among the *Nordwegians* rose to a great height. The commons affected great rage, not only against the viceroy, but against all his creatures and dependants, and spread it universally. The primate most of all felt the weight of their indignation. He was looked upon as the chief favourite and most industrious agent of the viceroy. This was his crime. And for this, his master, like the prince of darkness, left his minister in the lurch. And hence the people poured out the dregs of the cup of their wrath upon him. As now, no direct, political evil practices could, with any colour of truth, be laid to this man's charge; and as it was confessed he fully discharged the several clerical and episcopal duties, as well as those in private life, equal if not superior to most of his predecessors; some means of blasting his fame with the populace was necessary to decry him entirely. An imputation of any ordinary crime could not stick. Any slight aspersion might be wiped off, as its falsehood and want of foundation might be shewn. Therefore a crime of the most black and horrible dye, must be trumped up; something such as

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innocence shudders at naming, must be charged upon him, by insinuations, whispers, jokes and inuendos, in puns, rebuses and filthy ballads; against which, there was not a possibility of making any defence.

Nothing spreads faster or farther in degenerate days, than evil fame. This, set once on foot, is hardly ever to be stopt in its progress, before the worst effects are compleated. The infamy thus infixed, left this gentleman's character at the mercy of an incensed multitude, who took every opportunity of abusing this mistaken object of their indignation. And thus the pretended patriots lessened the credit and authority of a man, whose sole crime, with regard to the public, was extending the power and supporting the authority of his patron. But, they presumed not to touch upon his real crime; as it would then appear, that each contended but for power, and that it was indifferent whose tyranny should prevail. Yet after all, this prelate proceeded to the last, with the firmness arising from conscious innocence, in the discharge of every branch of his complicated functions; for, as one of the rengency, he served in a civil and military capacity, as in his prelatical function, his office was, ecclesiastical: Solecisms in administration, never known in free governments: for, priests of all religions, but that of *Britain*, have ever been proved tyrants or slaves; sometimes both; that is, slaves to their superiors, for the sake of tyrannizing over their inferiors.

The popular cry was daily increased in *Nordweg* by the majority of the commons and their adherents; especially by the displaced and unpenioned members, whom the populace now looked upon as martyrs for the cause of liberty. It was the highest crime to suspect the judgment or integrity of any of these. They stuck closely together, and

omitted no opportunity of heightening their own credit and depreting that of their antagonists, with the public. In *Bergen*, they formed as it were one great association or club, from which there were swarms in every other city and county, that seemed to be so many committees deputed by the great society. Such implicit faith was universally paid to these clubs, that whatever transpired from them was deemed oracular, and whatever they dictated was received as law.

These commotions could not fail of reaching *Danemarch*, and frightening that corrupt and dastard people. As the commons might not now legally assemble in form; no regular complaints of grievances could, from that quarter, be offered to the throne. Of this, a factious peer, who had formed some connections with the great in *Danemarch*, took the advantage. This was baron *Gschildaragh*, whose family were, whenever they were possessed of power, the most seditious, factious and rebellious leaders, the *Nordwagians* had at any time known. They were once attainted for the most unprovoked and unjust rebellions, as well as many of the most cruel and horrible murders. They were however afterwards restored to their rank and regained their patrimony. After which, they became more cautious in offending, and at last grew so calm and pacific, indeed so inconsiderable, that the only man of any eminence this illustrious house for ages produced, was the immediate predecessor of the present noble peer; and his talents rose no higher than those of knitting and sewing, in which he equalled or outdid most of the professed knitters and seamstresses of his time.

The inclinations, though not the talents of the son, reached much farther. His pedigree, of which few peers are ignorant, shewed his family once

held great power in the state. And he could not see why he should not, with the family-title and estate alone, make as conspicuous a figure as the best of them.

Besides, his rank and riches had procured him a match with one of the best and loveliest of her sex, the daughter of a family of the first dignity and power in *Danemarch*. The principal, if not the sole family of that kingdom, that had now escaped severe, deserved reproach; while this kept clear of all handles to unworthy imputations, but becoming favourites to a worthless king. But, it was a dishonour as undeserved, as the false honours, the titles, lavished on the profligate favourites: for, the truly noble personage at the head of this family, was foremost in every generous act, never engaged in any thing dishonourable; while his name carried influence and authority, which he could never abuse. An other of his daughters, more by accident than choice, was matched to a commoner of great wealth and power in *Danemarch*. Such was our *Nordwegian* peer's alliance in *Danemarch*.

Thus allied, and in his own imagination equipped, this noble peer conferred with the patriot club, and undertook to make their case known to the sovereign. The desperate patriots were glad to get a person of this consequence to join them, and rather than make him an enemy, seemed to countenance an undertaking, in which they could not suspect his lordship would embark further than a little loose conversation. However they entered into a sort of a league with him, offered some instructions for his conduct, and promised with their lives and fortunes to support his lordship, while he should keep up to their intentions.

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His lordship, under the sanction of this league, set out for *Danemarch*. And going to court, at *Copenhagen*, presented a complaint against the late administration in *Nordweg*, to the king, pointing out the evils to be apprehended from such unjust governors.

Had his lordship's pride admitted his attending to the instructions of the league, and appearing before the sovereign on behalf of the commons and people, or that of the diet of *Nordweg*; the remonstrance might possibly have had some weight with the king. But, when it appeared but a private memorial, most inexpressive and contemptible, from a single person too, whose writings and address were as mean as his form and deportment; the king took no notice of it, and was never known to countenance the peer afterwards.

His lordship however and his friends plumed themselves greatly upon the boldness and greatness of this memorial. It was therefore published. Many good men esteemed him honest and zealous, that could be so hardy as to venture his reputation to expose himself, in this manner. The design of the attempt was generally approved, tho' the execution was despised. The patriots, who saw all with contempt, as his lordship made no direct mention of them in his memorial, contemned the performance, while they judged it necessary to keep upon terms with the performer; and the populace in general, like drowning rats catching at floating straws, almost adored the puny efforts of the peer, while they looked upon him as the redeemer of their *Israel*.

In this estimation, he returned to *Nordweg*, where he was received with the most universal, joyous acclamations of a grateful people. This shews the sense of virtue and liberty, this oppressed people

ple still retained. No man could have made an attempt, however weak, to serve the cause, that did not meet with every act of popular approbation. When they gave this public testimony of their generous regards and gratitude to the poor efforts of baron *Gschildaragh*, what would they not have done for a man of parts, actuated by the pure love of virtue and his country? When they were thus taken with the bare semblances of virtue, what would they not have done on sight of the reality? But, his lordship's intentions, and how far he was in earnest and disinterested in this cause, will appear in the following lines.

Poor *Rutilius* at this time wandered about *Copenhagen*, disconsolate and despondent; while his sole pursuits were the study of the laws of this and other nations. The lovers of his cause, who had formerly most generously supported him, at length grew weary of the task, and totally neglected and forgot him. However, little as his reputation or real character were known in *Danemarch*, he was able by his profession to gain such a livelihood, even among strangers, as kept him with decency in the best company.

The efforts and noise of all the pretended patriots made no impression on him, who knew the secret springs that set every one of the active men in motion. He plainly saw, their affected regards to the citizens of *Bergen*, indeed to the populace at large, were only so many lures to bring these to their side, that by adding a number of them to the train of any inconsiderable, his value may be enhanced, as single numeral figures, by the connection of cyphers. He concluded from fairly proved propositions, that this was the only use the patriots intended to make of the multitude. And all this, he fairly explained from time to time in letters



letters to his former friends, on whom it had no better effect, than cooling their affection to him, and giving grounds to a surmise, that *Rutilius* was much changed himself for the worse, or he could not have suspected the generosity and honour of men who outdid the ancient patriots of *Greece* or *Rome*. Thus *Rutilius* fell, while more artful men thus rose, in the public esteem.

When *Rutilius* first saw the memorial and the attempts of baron *Gbchildaragh*, he began to conceive some hopes of a rising patriot spirit in *Nordweg*, which deserved, as it required, being applauded and cherished. At least, he resolved to acquit himself, and therefore wrote the following letter ;

To the right noble the lord baron of *Gbchildaragh*, *Rutilius Noricus*, health, respect, and greeting.

My Lord,

You will probably be surprized at an address of this kind from one, so unfortunate as to be an utter stranger to you. But, when my motives and intentions become known, I hope I shall need neither introduction nor apology to your lordship.

The bold and generous efforts your lordship lately made to avert the impending destruction of your country, has recorded you in the book of fame, among the chief friends of poor *Nordweg*.

I, in my humble sphere, once laid some claim to that character, and never thought it could be doubted, that I was intentionally, if not actually, a friend to my unhappy country, till her most penetrating, wise, grave and mighty diet thought it fit to declare and proscribe me as an enemy.

Having thus, forcibly rather than legally, drove me into exile, stript of my property, and in the decline

cline of life, in broken health, necessitated to seek a livelihood among strangers; finding it impracticable to return to my wounded country and ruined family, and despairing of ever seeing the complicated grievances of poor *Nordweg* redressed, from the untoward, dastard and corrupt disposition of her favourite sons; I threw aside the political pen, and gave myself up totally to the study and practise of my profession; judging it very allowable, after having long laboured to no good effect for the health of a most distempered, not to say ungrateful, body politic, to consult the support and well-being of the private body natural, which I never before could think of setting in any degree of competition with the public.

It was some time before I could work myself up to this state of indifference to the public concerns. At length, I so effectually alienated my attention from the noisy political world, that during my exile, I have scarcely allowed myself to read any thing in this way, not so much as a news-paper or the mighty votes of diets.

The treatment I received in my own country, by the lawless, tyrannical persecution of bitter enemies, and the late unaccountable desertion of my once kind and generous friends, made me now give up *Nordweg*, as an honest physician would a patient he found past all hopes of recovery. They must be but shallow politicians, that do not now see the members and bowels of the state in such a wretched mortification, as admits of no prospect of cure, but by an entire renovation of the parts; a painful and perilous remedy.

Whether your lordship will most condemn or applaud my inattention to public affairs, I know not. Some of the prudent ones here judged me in the right. They said it would be but madness to meddle

meddle again in any political matters, especially relating to *Nordweg*; that I could hope for no good to my country or myself from any attempt within my compass, and that from zealous and unseconded attempts, much mischief to the public, as well as to myself, might be dreaded.

Yet, my lord, regardless of all these prudential rules, if my former feeble efforts for the common cause were madness, I fear I have fallen into a relapse, which is generally said to be more difficult of cure than the original distemper.

In my despondency, I never thought I should live to see a pure patriot rise to assert the abandoned cause of poor *Nordweg*. How agreeably was I disappointed, how were my long drooping spirits raised, at gracious heaven's moving a person of your lordship's rank and power to assume the glorious character! Till now, I thought my purposes fixt; but behold, I was but as tinder, and wanted but free air and a spark from baron *Gschildaragh* to be kindled into actual fire!

In short, my lord, the purport of this crude address is to inform you, that I zealously contended for the rights of my country, in my low sphere, till the oppressive hand of lawless power robbed me of my liberty and of all means of serving the public, at home. Shocked at my inability to promote the good of my country, I bore my exile with pain. But, now that I am placed beyond the tyrant's reach, and find one nobleman of virtue enough to engage in the precarious cause; I again resolve to enter the lists, ready to sacrifice my best hopes here, to contribute my poor mite to the service of the public.

Thus your lordship's generous struggles for the common good, have warmed and enlivened my chilled and drooping heart. I can not conceive your
motives

motives and intentions, other than virtuous and loyal. I must therefore grieve to find them assiduously, grossly misrepresented to all ranks here. I am shocked at the indignities offered such noble efforts to procure the redress of public grievance, which are a reproach to our government, and which may in the end prove as fatal to the crown, as they are at present injurious to the subject. I am distracted at the contemptible treatment given the diet, though there was not a single member to be found in it, who dared to give his negative to the pronouncing a most innocent man, an enemy to his country, *nemini contradicente*. And I must with perpetual indignation, behold the violence done even to my persecutors in the diet, for the first instance in which they happened to be in the right. I even resent injuries offered to men that robbed me of all that I held dear in life.

By the treatment offered your lordship, it is plain, there is no room to hope for any redress of private or public wrongs from men in power. And from the reports industriously spread to your prejudice, and the machinations of evil counsellors, the worst of enemies, pretended friends, about the throne, and the general aversion, with which the corrupt people of this country, have possessed the sovereign against our poor spot; we surely have every thing that is bad to apprehend.

In such sad circumstances, the only resource I see left is, by stating the facts relative to the affairs of *Nordwoeg* in a proper light, to alarm and rouse up the spirit of the *Danish* populace. Sluggish, effeminate, corrupt and dastard as they are, they may be moved to bestir themselves in our behalf, from a sense of their own danger. A wicked ministry may be more effectually wrought upon by popular clamour, than by any regard to truth or justice.

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And I am in your lordship's judgment, whether there be not ample materials to raise such a just clamour here, against the late administration in *Nordweg*, as might produce some good effects for both kingdoms, especially at this conjuncture.

If these notions be honoured with your lordship's approbation, and you think me capable of giving any assistance ; I am ready, under your sanction, to embark in the cause.—Your lordship must judge my motives disinterested ; since it is impossible I should love the ringleaders of the late opposition in the house of commons. Besides, while I must approve the part of their conduct, in defence of which your lordship has been moved ; I must detest the visible motives to this conduct : for, to me, they appear, to have the same incentives to good and to evil actions ; they certainly have now opposed a tyrant from no better principles or motives than those, upon which they lately proscribed a loyal subject ; private resentment and fear of the loss of place or power.

Yet notwithstanding, I think all lovers of their country, should join and avail themselves of every opportunity offered, by good men or by bad, to promote the common good. This opportunity should surely be attended to ; as, by prudent management, it may be improved to the best purposes ; while the neglecting it may prove fatal in its consequences.

If your lordship judges my design worthy of your countenance, I have nothing more to ask, than that you will keep these proposals and my intentions profound secrets, and help me from time to time with some proper materials. An exact and well grounded account of the rise and progress of the contest between the viceroy and the commons ; a minute detail of the proceedings of both parties ;

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speeches,

speeches, addressees, and votes in the diet; rational writings, on either side, if any such there be, will be requisite. And as soon as your lordship furnishes me thus, I shall as soon as possible open my plan, and proceed to inform the public here, whose attention is now fully raised, of the true state of the case, and to point out to them how far their duty and interest conspire to oblige them to stand forth in just opposition to the impending destruction of *Nordweg*, which must facilitate and expedite that of *Danemarch*.

I fear my zeal has transported me beyond due bounds. But, I hope, I have not incurred the imputation of arrogance. I am sensible, there may be many more powerful advocates for this cause. But, as no writer has as yet appeared on this behalf here; I must fear the cause, in this respect neglected. And this prompts me, thro' your lordship, to offer my poor services to a sinking country, tho' it has ungratefully cast me off and undone me and mine.

It is fit to inform your lordship, that our courtiers here affect to impute all the late commotions in *Nordweg*, to a spirit of disaffection to the present government, and a design to break the connexion between the two kingdoms, and to raise disturbances in favour of the pretensions of *Albert*. But, I should not think it difficult to turn the scales, and shew more room to suspect the movers of the late violent measures in *Nordweg*, proceeded upon such pernicious principles; as there can be no way of strengthening the interest of *Albert*, so effectual, as rendering the family on the throne hateful, by giving the sanction of their name to corruption, oppression and tyranny. And as measures of this kind have of late been inculcated and pursued by men of principles averse to the establishment, lately taken into
favour;

favour; it is more than probable, an imputation of this kind properly placed, would meet with due credit, after the charges lately made and fully proved, tho' ill supported, against two men vested with the most important trust among us.

The impatience and hurry in which I am forced to write, must make this appear but a rude and inconnected sketch to your lordship. I am more solicitous to lay my motives and intentions open to your lordship's view, than to polish or decorate my writings. I have nothing but the common good and your lordship's honour in view. To these I am willing to sacrifice my own peace and private interest. I am vain, or rather proud, enough to tell your lordship, that if my character be enquired, any where out of the house of commons, it will be found that my integrity stands untainted, and that neither the frowns of adversity or the smiles of prosperity have been able to make me mercenary.

If so, your lordship will not condemn an humble zeal that concurs with yours, tho' you may from wiser motives reject the profered service. If I be so happy as to obtain your lordship's approbation; I beg you will, as speedily as possible, honour me with your commands. If I may not hope to be so happy, let me beg you will either burn or return this letter, and forgive the presumption of one, who has the ambition to minister to your patriot views, and to manifest with what respect and duty,

I am,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's,

most faithful

and obedient servant.

R. N.

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This

This letter was dated from the *Heeren-straat* at *Copenhagen*, February 14th, 1634, when his lordship had entered into a strict patriot league with the president of the commons, now left out of the regency, and all the leading members, who were either displaced, un pensioned, or in some manner highly irritated by the viceroy.

Had these all along, from just motives, uniformly opposed, and thereby prevented, this man's evil administration; how much had it been to their honour? but, their lately past conduct shews, what their future confirms, that the objections to the conduct of the viceroy, lay against the man, not against his measures; against him in his private, not in his public capacity: for, had these men been severally gratified in their respective demands, the viceroy might have done what he listed, without controul; as the subsequent conduct of these great patriots will evince.

Indeed, the conduct of his excellency was in all respects as blameable towards his opponents, as theirs to him: for, he stript every member indiscriminately of his employments and preferments, civil and military, as well as of his pension; not regarding whether he held them upon the honour of the crown, purchased them with his fortune, or received them as the wages of past services to this viceroy or his predecessors.

This could not fail of hurting his excellency's credit and his cause. It cemented the connexions, and gave weight to the associations against him. The contemptible treatment given the baron *Ghicbil-daragh* by the king, raised his credit with the populace and the commons, and spurred him on more zealously to form a league against the viceroy. But, what his lordship and the rest of the band of patriots had in view, while they took up all the attention of
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the public, and raised its hopes to an incredible height, will be seen in the sequel.

Here let one observe, that the simplicity of *Rutilius's* heart alone, and his unwillingness to look on the black side of human nature, could have caused him to mistake the character of baron *Ghechilderagh*, who had long rendered himself as hateful as his power, influence, or fame extended. *Nordweg* hardly knew so great a tyrant as this nobleman, where his power reached. Nothing was done within his district, but as he liked. No man could make an improvement even in his lands or house, nor keep a horse or a dog, but by his permission. To give one instance out of many.

Flamberg, a neighbouring gentleman, happened to have a horse, which the lord liked. His lordship therefore sent a groom to bid money for the beast, judging that to court his lord's countenance, the owner would, as was the custom, offer the horse as a present, a sacrifice to avert the wrath of a peevish divinity.

Flamberg being unfortunately too fond of the horse, and hurt at the offer, declined the sale, in civil terms. This, the young lord could not brook with, and therefore, resolved to punish exemplarily, an unprecedented, daring offender. Every engine of persecution was let loose upon poor *Flamberg*; his lands were laid waste, his friends and neighbours were forced to forsake him; by which means his life was rendered so uneasy, that he determined to quit the country. His friends enquired how he had disobliged the lord? he knew of no offence, but refusing to part with his horse. They told him, that was cause enough, and that he must straightway make the beast a peace-offering to his angry lord. He, with much persuasion and great reluctance, submitted; went to the lord's court and offered

offered him the horse upon any terms, on which his lordship should vouchsafe to accept him. The lord, seemed then indifferent about the horse ; but asked the gentleman to dine, postponing the talking of the sale till after dinner.

Flamberg now thought his friends wise in their advice, and already began to exult upon the happy prospect of a reconciliation with his lord. Dinner being over, he pressed his lordship to accept of the horse. The peer coolly thanked him, saying he now had no occasion for him, at the same time dropping some hints to shorten his visit.

Flamberg disappointed, took his leave ; went to the stables, called his servants to get him his horses. But, how shall his astonishment be painted or conceived, when he found his favourite horse close cropt and dock'd ? He would have expostulated, had even like to have raged, at this horrid abuse, the greatest disgrace in *Nordweg* ; but he was soon given to understand, it was all in vain, that he must take what he got, and had better depart, contented it happened no worse. There was no remedy, He was forced to submit. This was the temper of the peer, from whom *Nordweg* was to hope for redress of grievances, even in the apprehensions of the mistaken *Rutilius*. But, he knew not this and many such like parts of this peer's private character. Otherwise he had not flattered himself with hopes of his doing or intending well to his country. The sequel of his lordship's character proves this. He wanted but power the farther to exert his tyrannical spirit : for, regardless of all sense of law and right, even of common decency, he shewed himself, wherever he could, a most proud, haughty, arbitrary despot ; and only formed associations, or shared his authority, purely to acquire new weight and power, to gratify the sordid purposes of a perverse soul.

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L E T T E R X I V .

IN the associations, three men were principally destined to be sacrificed to appease the incensed public. These were the viceroy, his son the secretary, and the primate. The crimes laid to the charge of the first were influencing and restraining the debates in the diet, whose privileges are inviolable ; offering a bill and using violent measures to get it past into a law, to give the crown a right to all surplus money in the treasury, and to alter the original, essential form of acts of the diet, suddenly proroguing the diet, while most of the public business was depending, and suppressing many bills ready for the royal assent ; then arming a band of lawless rioters, and authorising civil blood shed, to the great terror and detriment of the subjects ; his robbing the commons of means to explain their conduct, and industriously maligning and misrepresenting them, to his majesty ; and the spoiling many men of their employments civil and military, many of which were private purchases ; as also of pensions given by his majesty or preceding viceroys, as rewards to merit and services to the crown ; and all this, to punish members for acting agreeable to their consciences, and the trust reposed in them by their constituents. Thus pompous and specious was the charge against the viceroy.

Tho' these were crimes, without opposition or reflection, openly practised, in some degree, by every preceding viceroy, as well as this, heretofore ; yet were they ever till now overlooked by the complaisant, indulging commons, while their leaders were gratified. Now that these were displeased, every mouth cried out for revenge, for redress of
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public grievances, for satisfaction to an injured nation, for blood. O! blood! blood, *Iago!*— These were popular cries, which caught and inflamed the multitude.

The crimes imputed to the son, were influencing elections in the house as well as out of it, and attempting to corrupt members when elected, and to influence their voices against their country, in favour of the most iniquitous measures of his father's administration. If this were true, it was only criminal for two reasons, with the patriots; first, because the attempts miscarried; and secondly, because all the patriot members, had time immemorial judged the sole right of influencing and corrupting electors and elected, and directing the voices of the commons in all public, as well as private concerns in the house, was the sole and unalienable property of their present president, who had, ever since he held the chair, exerted this power without restraint or controul, with all its perquisites and emoluments; till his province was surreptitiously invaded by the management of the present viceroy and his creatures.

However, what was deemed no crime in the president, and made his seat looked upon with envy by the ambitious, was undoubtedly, *nemini contradicente*, a crime in the secretary; with this then he was to be branded, aggravating his guilt with the farther charge of extorting most exorbitant and excessive fees in his office, bordering upon bribes; a crime never known to be charged before upon any secretary of *Nordweg*, before he left the kingdom; and consequently a crime, because it interfered with the perquisites of some of the patriots. But, however the charge might have been founded, it could not fail of stirring up the popular resentment against the supposed offender.

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And to the other foul imputations thrown out against the primate, as before mentioned, was added that of aiding and abetting the father and the son in all branches of their evil administration; the principal weight of which accusation appeared to be no more, than his interfering with the established province of the president of the commons, who was long confessed the sole and absolute ruler of that house, and was never known to give any opposition to the crown or its substitutes, before he saw his province invaded and his power likely to fall.

Tho' some of these crimes might have been but imaginary, and others were crimes only against the president and his faction; yet many of them appeared too well founded and too deep to be overlooked; while the smallest of them, dressed up artfully in blackening expressions, served to make out a capital charge, with a prejudiced populace. To the jaundiced eye, all things seem green.

The blackening these men served the patriots several purposes. Men who have no virtues of their own, shine among those who are stripped of the character. The blacker the courtiers were made, the brighter the patriots appeared. But, matters were now carried to such extremities, by both factions, that nothing could restore the excluded patriots to their places and pensions, but fastening the charges of capital crimes upon the viceroy and his agents. Therefore this was done with all the assiduity and clamour possible. The slightest slips of government were magnified into capital crimes. Real crimes were aggravated, and all loudly proclaimed to the multitude, whose rage boiled over upon the occasion.

Impeachments were promised and prepared against the viceroy, against the secretary, and against the treasurer for laying out the public money undisposed

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of, unappropriated, without the authority of the diet. And as for the primate, a few votes to disqualify him for serving in the regency, was to sate the moderate revenge of the patriots, and the unoffended, tho' incensed populace.

These were the schemes laid by the commons, to the performance of which, each solemnly bound himself to the other, and all to the public. Above all, the president of the commons was foremost in these charges and these promises to the members and to the injured and enraged multitude. And as he engaged to exert his sovereign sway to get the impeachments brought in and supported by the house, so the baron *Gschildaragh* undertook to carry them thro' the house of nobles, where he had established an interest for the purpose, among the laity, the clergy always withdrawing in cases of blood.

One would imagine *Rutilius's* letter could not fail of being welcome to this whole junto, to the baron in particular. It certainly must have been so, had their real purposes been what they professed in public and in private. But, they were too wise to accept the offer. Each of the chiefs had his secret views, which a publication of this sort must have marred. Whatever the herd was made to believe, the leaders meant only by threats to force the government into their measures; let them be but gratified in their private views, and any viceroy might, as heretofore, take his fling in the administration. For these reasons, an appeal, such as *Rutilius* proposed, might possibly carry matters to too great extremities, without answering the private ends of any of the faction. Some men might be brought to the scaffold or the gallows; but the opponents might be still left to seek for the favourite objects of their wishes. The letter was shewn to a chosen few, and by unanimous voice decried and rejected.

Rutilius

Rutilius hearing this, gave copies of it to several of his friends, to warn them against the wiles of these insidious pretenders to the love of liberty and their country. And finding that all this pompous shew of patriotism, not known before in the memory of man, in *Nordweg*, was but a contest of private men for their own ends, quite regardless of the public concerns; he drop'd his pen and turned his thoughts another way.

L E T T E R X V .

A Reader of any forecast, with a slight sense of honour, would naturally judge that the commons of *Nordweg*, headed by the noble peer, could not possibly fail of fulfilling their repeated solemn engagements to and with the public. To learn the truth, he must attend me thro' a review of the next session of the diet at *Bergen*.

It was now judged imprudent by the *Danish* ministry to continue baron *Dorensaght* or his son in their high employments in *Nordweg*. And it is probable, these prudent noblemen, did not think it quite expedient again to encounter a whole enraged people, with the commons and some of the principal nobles at their head. They therefore wisely declined the task, each taking, as it were in exchange, the first employments that became vacant in *Danemarch*, that were nearest an equivalent to those they were forced to give up.

A new viceroy was now to be nominated; when after some consideration the count *Yartingburgh* was judged the fittest to fill up the place in the present posture of affairs. He was a nobleman of the first rank and fortune, of moderate parts, not highly cultivated by letters; but of reputed honour and

probity throughout all the stations of life. He had had but little experience of men; and as his heart was unpractised in guile; he never suspected any man of ill, without cause. He was humane, benevolent, good-natured, most hospitable and affable. And nothing was farther from his heart, than an ambition to be put into great employments, beyond his ability to discharge. But, he was forced sometimes to submit to the exigencies of the court.

It was not yet judged a convenient point of time to come to an open rupture with the *Nordwegians*; *Danemarch* being then engaged in a tedious, expensive and precarious war with *Sweden*. It was at this juncture judged most prudent to send a man of this character with full powers to heal up the dangerous wounds, with which *Nordweg* yet smarted. But, it was more for the sanction of this nobleman's name, than from any opinion of his political talents, that he was sent upon this doubtful and perilous undertaking. And, to secure his conduct, agreeable to the purposes of his principals, they made him take as his secretary, a man of reputed good sense and thorough knowledge of the intentions of the ministry, and who had a natural interest in the country.

The count of *Yartingburgh* too, had a considerable interest there: his father had formerly served there as viceroy, and made strong connexions with some of the most opulent and lately enobled families there; the *Ponsiburghs*, now impeered by the title of *Befston*; and by his wife, he had some alliance with the president of the commons, who was a descendant of the antient and illustrious family of *Suberton*.

Before we proceed further in this narrative, it may be satisfactory to some readers to explain the characters of some of the principal personages in the
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the drama, now engaged in acting the tragical state-farce in *Nordweg*.

The president of the commons was the descendant of a younger son of one of the most antient and illustrious *Danish* families settled in *Nordweg*. They got footing in this country in the reign of queen *Margaret*, who raised the first of them to the house of nobles; in which rank, the virtues of the successors raised the heirs of the family, and enobled other branches, while honours were the rewards of virtue; which was hardly the case half a century after the queen's death: so that subsequent creations of nobility oftener carried and infixed stains than honours.

The titles remaining in this family were those of the counts of *Suberton* and *Orfinburgh*, each of which houses had produced some of the best members of society, and one of them in particular honoured and obliged the world with one of the greatest ornaments to his country or to mankind; *Frederick Bolestadt*, surnamed *Gudfruktig*, i. e. the religious philosopher; most properly; for he was a man of most extensive knowledge in all kinds of literature, in all sciences and arts, and indued with every virtue that might contribute to exalt the dignity of human nature, added to the purest notions and the most strict regards to the revealed and established religion.

Of a family thus enobled by nature, and by law, sprung *Weinflasche Bolestadt*. In his father's time, all sense of morality and religion began to expire, with all regard to letters and sound politics, in *Nordweg*. Interests were to be kept up in the state by factions. Factions were formed upon associations in vice. These laid the foundation for false friendship, which owed its origine to confederacies in iniquity.

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The chief bond of society now known in *Nordweg*, was wine. No man pretended to know another, till he got drunk with him. Invitations were now sent to bring men to get drunk together, as in our days to drink tea or play at cards. If a man was asked whether or no he knew another; to answer positively in the negative, he said, he never got drunk with him. Hence the greatest civility that could be paid a person of distinction was to make him fuddled, or to get heartily drunk with him. The principal test of integrity was drawn from drunkenness: for, it was said, such a man was a very honest, because a very drunken, fellow. A man that did not drink fair, that is, as deep, as others in company, was reckoned a most dishonest and unworthy companion. And he that let his guest get away before he made him dead drunk, or was himself put dead drunk to bed, was remembered with infamy for generations.

All families of distinction were now under a necessity of making drinking a principal part of the education of their children. In this, they were initiated early. They sucked in *French* claret with the nurse's milk; and learned to drink historical toasts to the memory of the dead, particularly that of *Frederick*, stiled immortal, before they could yet speak plain. Drinking thus became habitual from infancy. And as the rankest poison given early, in small quantities and gradually increased, ever is found to lose of its deadly quality; so claret became so familiar to the *Nordwegians*, that some were able to drink as far as six, seven or eight quarts at a sitting, which was frequently prolonged to twenty four, and sometimes to thirty six hours, and then after a short sleep renewed again for several hours or even days; a man being always reckoned good company while he could drink his glass regularly

regularly in his turn and sit up without puking or sleeping.

This, among other vices, was borrowed from the *Danes*, among whom it had now grown somewhat obsolete, giving place to some more fashionable sin. How happy is it, that the sedate, sensible and moderate inhabitants of these polished kingdoms, keep free of these among other *Danish* and *Nordwegian* abominations ?

Such an age gave birth to our famous *Weinflasche*. Such were the customs of the times, that formed his manners. He was not much burthened with learning, and was sufficiently versed in numbers to calculate certain quantities, and the values of acres, cattle and men, in crowns, shillings and pence. His patrimony was not large ; but his connections with the great were very considerable. And these, he strengthened by an additional alliance with a superior branch of his own family. His natural parts and dispositions were good, rather than great. And, had they been improved by proper education, and directed to proper objects, by wise precepts or good example, they might have made an accomplished man, an additional honour to his family, and a blessing to his country.

But, the increase of craft and cunning, not the culture or propagation of good sense, was the chief object in education held desirable in his time. He was well instructed in what man was, not in what man should be. And he early acquired the capital accomplishment for a man that would learn the secrets of other men, while he concealed his own ; he could bear from six to eight bottles of claret, while few of his contemporaries could come within a bottle or two of him. Yet, he was always observed to fill his glass as high and drink as fair as
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any man. By which he soon established the character of a very honest fellow, universally.

He never studied any system of polity, and was only by rote, and that but slightly, acquainted with that of *Nordweg* or *Danemarch*. But, he had natural sagacity enough to see what the springs and movements of government were in both kingdoms, and found no difficulty in pursuing the plan, upon which the administration of both were carried on, when it came to his turn to bear a part in either.

He was no orator; but could express himself sensibly and forcibly enough in short sentences upon any subject; especially in private, where he could enforce his arguments beyond most men by the persuasive rhetoric of the big bottle.

In speaking of public affairs, he either had, or affected to shew, great modesty, and a diffidence in himself; paying such a deference to others, as gave the generality of those he thus conversed with, to understand, he acknowledged the superiority in them.

This pleased every body; gained him universal love and confidence; and got him first thought a fit president for the commons; a station in which every member was sure to rule him, while he, by these means, was able to rule, if not every member, yet a sufficient majority to serve all his purposes.

Thus accomplished and allied to some of the greatest families, *Bolestadt* was without opposition chosen president of the commons, the first vacancy in the beginning of the reign of *Christiern IV*. Here he was soon found to have established such a despotic sway, that the ministry found it necessary to make an interest in him.

There could be nothing more inconsistent with the freedom of the kingdom, than taking off the attention of a man set at the head of the democracy,

the president of the commons, from the duties of that great office, by any ministerial employment. But, this was one of the *Danish* schemes for breaking the power of the commons in *Nordweg*. Therefore, for some time, it was found necessary to make the president one of the regency, in the absence of the viceroy. And for this purpose, none was more fit or more necessary for the ministry than *Bolestadt*, none more dangerous to the people of *Nordweg*; as he had acquired the most absolute, extensive sway in the commons.

Without him, no point could be carried, and by his nod, any thing might be got to pass, under the sanction of the commons. No election in the diet was made, without his interposition. No election was valid, without his sanction. And every election, he thought proper, was frustrated or dissolved. To him, such as had ambition for seats in the commons, were forced to apply for a kind of permission to declare themselves candidates. And to him, the elected were forced to sue, to cringe, and to inlist in his bands, before they could think their seats secure. He was the first man consulted by the ministry, when they meant to carry any illicit point. Whether or no he dissuaded them from attempting any and what measures, he and they were best able to tell. But, they that survived him saw and declared, that he countenanced and carried every question the court proposed, till he found what he was taught to be his province invaded, the powers and perquisites of his office reduced. Then indeed, he gave very powerful and memorable opposition; became a patriot and an hero, and held so for a session or two, and might have continued so longer, had he not grown tired of the place, and found his satellites likely to desert him.

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He had held the chair with great honour and was believed a patriot, by the generality of the people, who did not look into his measures, for eighteen or twenty years. *Rutilius* was one of the first, who explained and exposed these measures; for which, the president became *Rutilius's* first and most powerful enemy; but without giving the object of his wrath, the least room to suspect his indignation, much less his enmity.

Whether or no he would have stooped to make separate terms for himself, exclusive of his faction, is a matter of doubt. It is most certain, he had an herd of the most infamous, perfidious slaves to deal with, that were each taken up in soliciting for their own private advantages apart, and regarded their president no further, than they found his power and authority conducive or subservient to their interest; such were all that were capable of speaking a sentence in support of the chair. These were a few; but they had many implicit followers, and some few honest, mistaken men joined in the choir.

It was in this man's power to make as glorious a retreat, as he was once induced to make a stand against the enemies of his country. He knew his minions, when they least suspected it. He knew the parts, they were privately, as well as publicly, acting. And he might have renounced the measures of the government, and disclaimed fellowship with his abandoned, perfidious crew, resigning a chair, that was no longer to be held with honour or a clear conscience.

But, he well saw the giving it up in, this manner, would be a matter of triumph to his enemies; as it would gratify one ambitious leader, that long had had an eye upon it, and might in the end expose him to the insolence of the little slaves, that were raised by, and some time lived upon, his smiles; as

maggots are engendered and live in the sun ; both alike the offspring of corruption.

The country had not virtue enough to encourage such a sacrifice. Therefore *Bolestadt*, thought it most prudent to get into an higher rank, with a considerable addition to his fortune, which might put him and his family out of the reach of the insults of his late slaves ; and promised to gratify his pride, by procuring him the respect ever attending title and riches, in countries bereft of all sense of virtue and freedom. Hence the president, dropping the party that were preparing to drop him, made the best terms for himself and a few trusty minions, and retired, leaving the rest of the faction to shift for themselves, as they intended he should, and giving the viceroy an opportunity of filling the common's chair, in the manner hereafter related.

LETTER XVI.

THE next in popular esteem, and in intimacy with *Bolestadt*, was *Kittar Gorter* ; a man of an antient, respectable plebeian family, dignified with knighthood. He was long known to aspire at the president's chair, and to keep up an interest for it, was known to have expended above an hundred hogsheads of Margueaux. This commoner had about a dozen relations at his back in the diet, who carried many with them into a faction, all at the beck of their family leader. These were often able to determine the fate of a question as they listed. But they for some time had remained subservient to the president *Bolestadt*, hoping by his interest, when he should some time or other resign, to put the head of the family and faction into the chair.

This factious leader counterfeited so well, that he got the reputation of a friend to *Bole-*

Stadt, whom he mortally hated, and of a lover of his country, which he was ever ready to sacrifice, as the nod of power directed. Had not this been his character, he had hardly been appointed as he was, one of the senate.

For this great man, a soft word or a smile from a viceroy, was an ample bribe, for a vote or so. But, a small place or pension for an indigent relation, would have made him a rampant orator for the court, to whose question he secured his faction of dependants, and his dozen of worthy kindred : These have been known to awake out of a profound sleep, just at the putting of a question, and only to enquire on which side the *Kittar*, their leader went, to determine their voices.

The character of this man may be easily conceived, from his becoming the most bitter enemy of *Rutilius*, whom he had never seen, and with whom, no sort of dealing or intercourse had ever happened. Yet *Kittar* and his pliant followers first joined heartily in the persecution and proscription of this innocent, unoffending man ; whom they found unfit, if not dangerous to their purposes.

This however, he conducted with his usual secrecy ; so that few knew the *Kittar* had engaged in the cruelty. When *Rutilius* was removed, his friends in *Danemarch* as well as in *Nordweg*, solicited for the restoration of the unfortunate exile. The *Kittar* among the rest was either personally in *Bergen*, or by letters from *Copenhagen*, addressed in behalf of the injured man. To the one, the supple knight declared he was ashamed and sorry for the part, the commons had unadvisedly acted in this persecution. Bad his friends call him home, and he would be answerable for the consequence ; for, that he would take care to skreen the unfortunate man from injury and molestation. To the letters from *Copenhagen*

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he gave a direct contrary answer: he openly avowed (but in letters he judged would be seen by none but those to whom they were addressed;) 'that neither he nor any of his fellows felt any sense of remorse or sorrow, for the punishment justly inflicted on *Rutilius*, whom they upon sufficient grounds declared an enemy to his contrary, and therefore deserving banishment; but on the country, that if it were to do again, they would as heartily concur in it as they did at first.'

Bolestadt was censured for not keeping faith with this man; for not giving him notice of his intentions to quit the chair. But, who will condemn him if they consider, that he must have known his man? *Weinflache* must have early seen the double-dealing heart of *Kittar Gorter*. He could not therefore trust him. And his prudence may be seen in this, from the part *Gorter* bore in public affairs, when he found the chair was vacant, and that the viceroy intended to give the commons a *congè d'elire* for his brother-in-law: for, tho' the eyes of the commons and the whole kingdom were upon him, all to some of the members whom the viceroy had engaged; he had neither sense nor fortitude enough to stand an election, upon which he had long set his heart; but went to court, and told the viceroy, 'that he not only declined standing a competitor for the chair with his excellency's brother; but would even give him his vote and interest.' Such was the first of the steady patriots, with which *Bolestadt* was connected. Let us see of what the rest were made.

After *Kittar Gorter*, his kinsman and allie, the much famed pleader, *Maloffuzz*, deserves mention. This was one of the first orators known in the diet or courts of *Nordweg*. He set out as most men of parts did in his time, with opposing the ministry. For which, the government took notice of

of him, and would have found means of crushing him. But, he had formed an alliance with the *Gorters*, who promised for his silence and servility, if the court would distinguish him with some mark of favour. Upon this, he was made the chief pleader to the king, a place that gratified his pride, rather than glutted his avarice. He held his place and did as the court bad him, for some years.

But, he at length discovered, as the public acknowledged, the weight of his power in the courts as a pleader, and in the diet, as a member. He judged his place bore no proportion to his merit, and thought it right to break once more with the court, in order to oblige them to purchase his services at an higher rate. The court once silenced him for a session with promises, and giving some things beneath, his acceptance, to some of his brethren and kinsmen. But, in the next session, he thought it proper to fly off again and insist upon some of the first things in the gift of the crown; which, happening then not to be obtainable, he formed a seeming close connexion with *Bolestadt*, who took him into all his secrets, and made an actual provision for him, when he retired from the chair. This, the pleader did not at first dare to accept, dreading the resentment of the populace, whom he had so often duped. He might have informed *Gorter* of all that was transacting between the president and viceroy; but he feared disappointment in his own projects, as well as in those of his friend and patron, by such a discovery. And so gave one instance of virtue, such as it was. When the popular fury was asswaged this gentleman solicited for his stipulated employment. But, could not, for some time, obtain his wishes. But, before the next meeting of the diet, it was found expedient to stop the venal orator's mouth.

The fourth commoner, we shall mention, deserves an higher rank among the leaders.—*Gunter Fubr-*

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man was a gentleman of a small fortune, who got a polite education and studied the law. He had an uncommon share of good sense, but more cunning. He understood men and things clearly well. And knew most perfectly how to accommodate himself to times and men, so as to avail himself of the passions of the one and the changes of the other, and make all subservient to his own ends. He was even in his youth grave and sage among old men. And in old age, gay and sprightly among youth. He was upon the whole, where he had no design upon his company, a most good humoured, facetious, agreeable companion. He had talents to enable him to shine in any branch of science or art, to which he applied. And was at once a judicious lawyer, a natural philosopher, a mathematician, a farmer, a mechanic in turning, painting and sculpture, as well as an accomplished statesman.

Disliking the drudgery of a pleader, he laid himself out for employments about the courts, and bought that of keeper of the records, a place of considerable honour and profit. By the means of some money, with his interest in the diet, he got into other employments in the different courts. Having purchased one of the venal burghs, he got a seat in the house of commons, where he shewed the power of craft, more than of oratory; yet by the latter became so necessary to the court, that he was taken into favour and confidence with the ministry, and admitted into the senate.

It was judged necessary to make *Fubrman* and *Bolestadt* draw together. Each saw his force and weight, increased by a connexion with the other. And tho' each most heartily hated the other, they judged it for their mutual interest to dissemble, to hide their aversion, and to draw together.

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Being very expert in numbers and calculations, he became the most useful member in matters of subsidies, new taxes or accounts. For which reason, he was generally chairman of all committees on such matters. In which, he long proved a most obsequious servant of the ministry. If any body happened to be hot-headed, and uninstructed enough to find fault with any of the most tyrannical, the most iniquitous measures of administration, from *Danemarch*; if it was the altering money bills in the *Danish* senate, or the directing or dictating the deliberations of the diet, or restraining and binding them by *Danish* statutes, to which they could not consent; *Fuhrman* was always the first, that urged passive obedience and non-resistance to whatever measures the *Danish* court thought proper to propose, and generally, by the help of his good alliance, carried his point.

It was not easy, it was not prudent in the court, to refuse so useful, so necessary a servant any thing. Therefore, he got whatever he vouchsafed to ask, for some time. At first, he was very moderate in his demands: he did not exceed some enlargement of the salaries and perquisites of his places, with patents, the better to secure them to him. All which were most readily granted; it being judged that his services to the government should in return be secured.

For many years, the court and he served each other with uninterrupted harmony. After long services, he judged himself intitled to further favours from the court; which, he would undoubtedly have received, had not *Beesingstein*, the primate, formed schemes for sharing the temporal government with *Boleskadt*, if not wresting it entirely out of his hands; resolving to secure *Maloffuz*, by giving him the keeper's place in reversion.

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As nothing of a public nature was to be done in *Nordweg* or *Danemarch*, without a bribe of one kind or other; so the means of bribing was not always easily had to the taste of the bribed. Some wanted places: new and unnecessary places were made, till it was found that there was no likelihood of seeing an end to the multiplication of employments. An other method was discovered, which while it gratified the corrupt, at the same time pleased the court, from the distant prospect of its distressing the prince successor: this was the unnatural and illicit granting of places in reversion, without any sort of regard to the character or qualifications of the future incumbent.

In this shameful manner, most of the considerable employments were given in reversion to two, three or more people. When the incumbent of any place was out of favour, any favourite might get a reversionary grant of the employment. And any civil officer, in favour, was hardly ever at this period denied a reversionary grant of the office, after his death to one or two of his sons, or friends, in succession.

Fubrman, with great reason, thought himself intitled to such a common favour. One of the regents, *Bolestadt*, agreed to it; second, the chancellor did not refuse; but the third, the prime, having it in view for one of the minions of him and his principal, peremptorily and insolently refused the request of a long, faithful and most obsequious drudge of the court.

No man carried resentment further than *Fubrman*. He never forgave offences, real or imaginary, for some generations; tho', to wait for a fit opportunity for revenge, he could put on the mask of forgiveness and even friendship for a while. But, wise providence made the lineaments of his face such a

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strong and plain index to his mind ; that no body could ever be deceived by the appearance of the keeper ; except, where born down by a torrent of words of a quite contrary indication to his countenance ; of which he never was sparing, when he saw occasion.

The primate was now singled out for the object of *Fubrman's* vengeance. As his grace acted but in concert, and in trust for the viceroy ; the one could not be struck at, without the other. So *Fubrman*, when he found that neither would gratify his desire, resolved to oppose both. He first set out in blasting the primate's fame, and by all manner of means aspersing him and his minions. He is said to have been the first that gave rise to the infamous, unproved, improbable charge, made upon the primate. Who first threw the dirt may not be easily ascertained, at this distance of time ; but, it is most certain, that *Fubrman* countenanced, and by jokes and inuendos propagated a report, so likely in the end, whether true or false, to undo the object of his displeasure.

As soon as *Bolestadt* found the keeper at variance with the primate, he availed himself of the rupture, and renewed alliances with *Fubrman*, against the primate, vowing never to part, never to cease co-operating, till they had humbled the pride of the high priest, as they now emphatically called the primate.

And henceforward, the president and the keeper for a while, and publicly, co-operated in all things against the primate and his principal. But, as they ever hated, they could never trust, each other, so each had always an eye to self. *Fubrman* was upon the whole, a great acquisition to the strength of *Bolestadt's* faction ; while the withdrawing him, from that of the primate and viceroy, extremely weakened their strength. These two leaders, continued in seeming amity and alliance, till each discovered

covered, too openly, the secret intentions and attempts of the other, to make an advantageous, separate peace for himself, exclusive and regardless of the allies. Then, they shewed their mutual long-pent up hatred and rage against each other : each charging the other with breaches of faith and good fellowship. But, which of the associates in iniquity first broke thro' his engagements with the other, can hardly be determined by any court inferior to the last great tribunal, where no secret will lye hid. In justice to this character, it must be remembered, that he gave the most zealous opposition to count *Tschesdirvelt's* scheme of getting bills framed and past in the senate, to lessen or overturn the diet.

To these, for the present must be added, *Kittar Habus*, an anomalous wight, not easily reduced to any class of men yet known ; as no party, faction or club was ever able to retain him long. He was the son of a most ignorant and knavish *Danish* pleader, sent over to *Nordweg* to propagate glummer principles, for which he was first raised to be president of the high court, and afterwards to the chancery, and knighted ; but, being but of little or no weight there, he was turned back from this court to the former, to make room for a person of more importance, in the reign of *Frederick II.* and afterwards, for misdemeanors of various kinds, in his public capacity as a judge and a senator, was censured and stigmatized by the diet, and ignominiously turned out of all public employments, in the reign of *Christiern III.*

He gave his son a genteel education, and from a visible succession in genius and disposition, hoped to see him placed upon some of the benches. But, his own foul disgrace coming on him unexpected ; he was forced to give up the favourite thought, and with a small, ill-purchased estate, incumbered with

debt, left his hopeful son to succeed to his father's ill-gotten, pitiful title and fortune.

The young *Kittar Habns* had got such a taste of good living in the lifetime of his father, that it was death to him to retrench it. So he ran on in all manner of extravagance, while he had any credit. Then, to skreen himself and his few acres from his incensed creditors, he put himself under the sanction of the privilege of the diet; which was the common refuge of spendthrifts of both nations, in these their last days.

Habns had a good humoured aspect and a most insinuating manner, and never failed of gaining the friendship of any man, he could have access to; till he became too well known to all, to be trusted by any. He was plausible in his mien, and with bad expressions, was eloquent, from the pure force of dissimulation; for, where words were inadequate to his thoughts, or his speech failed, as it was known upon many occasions, especially when a pannic seized him; the operations of well-feigned passions gained him attention and credit.

He early paid court, in the most fawning and servile manner, to the rising *Bolestadt*, then possessed of the disposal of several of the venal burghs. The new president, intent upon forming a faction in the commons, thought *Habns* a fit man for his purpose. *Habns* well knew the president fit as well as necessary to his, and therefore in some of their six-bottle assemblies, he solicited the president for his countenance to get him a seat in the diet. *Habns's* repeated solemn assurances of an inviolable attachment to the party and interest of *Bolestadt*, made the president readily agree to the solicitation; so that at the next vacancy, *Habns* was at the promise of a small expence, which he never paid, chosen to represent one of the president's venal burghs.

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He was now got to the summit of his present wishes. He got safe out of the reach of creditors ; and to put all, the old and the new creditors upon a level, to prevent their jealousies of each other, and give the world a proof of this worthy member's future designs ; he no sooner got himself a seat in the diet, than he refused paying all the expences, that he was not previously forced to deposite ; so that even his election dinner and the carrying him to the diet were not paid for, even when a complaint of his fraud was lodged in the house, many years after.

It is easy to conceive what was to be expected from such a member as this. He knew no principle, but self-interest ; and yet had not steadiness or integrity enough to procure his own ends. He was with every viceroy that would purchase him, with every party that he could hope to serve him ; till he was discovered and despised by all. Yet even then, he was thought of consequence enough by every body that wanted to give, or feared, opposition, in the house. He has more than once been known to decline or refuse the service, for which he was beforehand paid. For such behaviour, he was called to account. But, found such a coward upon trial, as to cringe, fawn, and dissemble, promise, and lie, to get off ; so that no man of spirit or character would have any dealings or intercourse with him. Members that had honest and patriot measures in view, shunned all commerce with him. Such as were of the illicit side of the question, which generally prevailed, found it necessary to take him into pay.

Dastard and corrupt as the whole diet now was, *Habns* was the only member that could be hired to move against *Rutilius*. He readily undertook the shameful task. But, did not dare to trust to court promises for payment. The day fixed for perpetrating this foul deed past over in silence and confusion.

sion. And the work might never have been done, had not *Habns* found that the government had set their hearts upon it, and by keeping off, so frightened the viceroy at the prospect of miscarrying, as to make him advance a large sum out of the treasury for present pay, and give him assurances of being made revenue-commissioner for the port of *Drontheim*. Thus *Habns* was ever to be bought, and hacknied in the foulest deeds for hire.

However, he might be universally despised, he saw he was able to make himself of some consequence. He was not long contented with his place in *Drontheim*. Therefore looked he for an higher in *Bergen*. This, he saw was only to be done by giving opposition to the ministry. For this, he had now two motives : his sale and persecution of *Rutilius*, added to the recorded infamy of his character, in public and private life ; rendered *Habns* the most detested of the human race in *Bergen*, as well as in most other parts of *Nordweg*. The citizens in particular were so enraged at his conduct, that conspiracies were openly formed against his life by some ; while others, more vindictive, resolved upon letting him live, after first maiming and branding him with indelible marks of popular hatred. These, *Rutilius* had humanity and authority enough to prevent. Though he could not attempt to sue for forgiveness for so nefarious a criminal. *Habns* after this, led a miserable life. His guilty conscience made him yet more cowardly than nature framed him. Though the assassination plots were discovered and for the present prevented ; he could not help living in perpetual dread of the populace.

To these then, as to an angry divinity, the pagan *Habns* judged it necessary to pay all homage and adoration. He saw a favourable opportunity offer to appease the public indignation and raise his

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own consequence, by opposing the measures of the viceroy. Therefore he made tenders of his service to the president.

A man, whom he had often offended and betrayed, and who well knew the open venality and unsteadiness of this political prostitute, could not be supposed to repose any confidence in him. But, it was no time to quarrel with mercenaries or volunteers; therefore *Habns* was once more received into the band, but never trusted with any thing, that was not intended to be sold a secret to the enemy.

However, there was some bond to secure some degree of this thorough-paced courtier's fidelity: for, though he was ever at the devotion of the highest bidder, and *Bolestadt* had nearly lost his power, and influence in the state; yet, as the viceroy had not means at present to gratify his avarice and ambition, it might be hoped, he would once prove continent, for about half a session; which might be enough for the private, if not for the professed, purposes of all the pretended patriots.

He entered the lists. And though in the assembly of the diet, in 1631, he argued and voted for the altered bill, with the premature consent and permission of the crown; in the assembly of 1633, he put on the patriot mask so effectually as to deceive the whole kingdom and regain the affections of the citizens and the whole short-sighted populace. They saw him ready to sacrifice a place worth about eight hundred crowns *per annum*; and without seeing into his motive, thought the man a thorough penitent for his past abandoned life, and a real convert to patriotism. Even *Bolestadt*, who knew him better than most men, from the warmth of the zeal shewn by *Habns* in every popular question moved in this assembly, was induced to believe him honest, though nothing was more foreign to his corrupt heart.

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The viceroy, who well knew this, could not help believing and treating *Habns* as an abandoned traitor. And therefore, determined to frustrate his designs, stript him, with all his associates at once, of their respective employments. Now, he became a favourite of the lately incensed citizens, who considering him as a convert, and martyr, for the cause, conferred many marks of their public regards, upon a man whom they had lately, deservedly destined to slaughter. He made many believe him sincere, by saying ‘he now authorised any man to call him a traitor, if ever he accepted of any place or pension.’ When in a few days after, upon his revolt, he was put in mind of this; ‘he bad them remember his privileges, as a member of the diet.’

In all this, the citizens were too precipitate and violent. It is true, *Rutilius* first fairly exposed the character of *Habns*, and made it appear deservedly hateful. But, the subsequent conduct of the pretended patriot, was what alone rendered him so odious as to cause a contest for the honour of assassinating him. One thing *Rutilius* omitted to explain, which some have ascribed to his unwillingness to display the deformities of human nature in so strong a light, others imputed to his tenderness for the sex, among which more honour, virtue and public spirit were then known, than among the women of any other country in *Europe*, if we believe what *Grampo Saxonus* relates.

But, however tender I am of the sex, I cannot overlook a point of history, which serves to illustrate the character of one of the most considerable under-actors in the whole state drama. The venal disposition of *Kitter Habns* appears more clearly from his conjugal behaviour, than from any other part of his life. This I find related in *Sulko Finbrught*. This author tells us, that *Habns* prostituted his innocent and virtuous wife for a sum of money borrowed

rowed of a quack in *Drontheim*. The quack, who was no less avaricious than lecherous, expected the bond would some time be discharged, when his lust had no further demands upon the prostituted wife. And, before he came to this pass, was sometimes a little importunate for his money. But this, the artful debtor knew well how to elude: for, he often sent the pawned pledge, the wife, to silence and at once to sate the calls of avarice and of lust. And she at length became so expert in her trade, that she often procured new sums, by way of loan, to gratify and to engage the husband further in the cause, together with large presents for herself. But, when the quack had no further calls from *Venus*, he smartly urged the payment of the bonds. He missed his aim, for the knight settled his schemes so well, that he had not only ocular demonstration, but legal proofs of what had past between the doctor and the dame. He therefore, affecting ignorance of any previous knowledge or design of an illicit amour, threatened the gulled paramour with a criminal prosecution; to avoid which, the duped quack thought it best that every man should sit down with his private loss, without public clamour; and therefore cancelled the bonds and took releases from the contented knight. When this is considered, who will wonder at any other part of the prostitution of this pretended *Nordwegian* patriot? Such were the leading commons of falling *Nordweg*!

These, with a few purse-proud, ambitious commons, that wanted to be set off with the tinsel of nobility; some hungry, mercenary pleaders, that fought for preferment; a few half starved, state pensioners; several dependants, influenced by those; a few weak, misled, honest men, who thought their leaders in the right; with some wrong-headed country puts, who formerly made themselves popu-

lar, and got their pictures set up as signs to spruce-beer houses and taverns, for opposing the measures of the court, without any rule for judging of right or wrong; this was the motley herd, that constituted the memorable opposition to count *Dorrensfaght's* administration in *Nordweg*, in the year 1633.

Would not *Falstaff's* regiment of ragamuffins make as good a figure in a muster, as this house of commons upon a division or a poll? Yet these were the trusty trained bands that were to reform public abuses, to punish a haughty, overbearing, abusive governor and his minions, to assert the rights of the people, and restore the broken constitution of the nation! But, good reader, by your leave, they thought it fit first to serve themselves. And when that was done, they were all too wise to see any thing wrong in the administration; any public or private grievance to be redressed. Wonder then, if you can, at what happened in the next assembly, under a new viceroy, which I now hasten to relate. Only here, to quit the most disagreeable part of the subject, let me just inform you, that in the next session of the diet, *Habns* was of all parties, yet of no party. Self was the sole object of his contests, and he joined actively with no body, till he got an equivalent for what he lost. Therefore, it was found necessary to give him sixteen hundred crowns out of the treasury, and a pension of eight hundred crowns a year during the minister's pleasure. This either stopt his foul mouth, or made him give the sanction of his tainted breath to every illicit act that past, in the last assembly of the diet; where, all the leaders proved themselves slaves and perjured parricides in *Nordweg*.

From such a drama, it is easy to conceive how the last act of the state farce was acted and ended. Wretchedness and ruin attended the nations, while

the people of each were so inattentive to any thing, but self-gratification, that it was not possible to turn their thoughts to any thing that concerned posterity or any distant times. Therefore sudden destruction fell upon them most deservedly, as shall be shewn in the following sheets.

Were I not here engaged in the disagreeable task of shewing the causes of the downfall of *Danemarch* and *Nordweg*, which makes it necessary to keep to the characters of the wicked men, that conspired, or one way or other concurred in, the ruin of their countries; I might indulge myself, and the humane reader, in the pleasure of explaining some of the few characters in each country, that did honour to their nations and to mankind.

But alas! they were too few in each, to check the deluge of iniquity and corruption that threatened the dissolution of the state. All the honesty and all the public spirit, now left in either kingdom, remained among the poor citizens of *Bergen*, and the peasants of *Nordweg* at large. Yet these, when they wanted sensible and honest leaders, fell an easy prey to every crafty villain that artfully assailed them.

Nor can it be forgot, that an inconsiderable number of men got by accident among the commons, who possessed all the social virtues, in the most extensive, in the most eminent degree. But, what were they to the corrupt multitude? So little, that they were blended and lost in the mass!

It may be asked, where these were when *Digbslatfchius's* legal and fair election was overturned, and his seat vacated and filled, by the house? They were absorbed in the multitude, under the imperial management of the corrupt Haupt of the commons, whose vassals dared not disobey their despot's will. Where were those honest, sensible and free-members, when *Rutilius* was, unheard and

unheard, doomed to gaol and exile, by an unprecedented and illegal, tho' unanimous, vote of the commons ? The few of them, that were in town, had not courage to oppose the perfidious, perjured multitude, documented and commanded to pass this wicked sentence.

Among others, *Probus* was unfortunately absent. *Probus* had every virtue that could adorn a man. His sole ambition was doing good, in secret. The widow and the orphan were comforted and supported by his bounty, without knowing their benefactor. And no man of worth, that came to *Probus*'s knowledge, ever wanted money to support his credit ; though he could never learn the source of his obligation. Nor could a good citizen want a friend, or a good artist encouragement, while *Probus* lived. He improved his estate and made his tenants rich, and happy, by teaching them the sweets of industry and freedom. And, of the income of a considerable, improved estate, after keeping up the dignity of his family and rank, in house-keeping and general oeconomy, enjoyed the least share himself. What remained of his fortune, after these expences, moderated by decency and prudence, was looked upon as the property of the public ; for the first distressed objects, that occurred, were sure to share it.

Probus was the first, almost the only person of distinction, that countenanced *Rutilius*, and almost the only one, whose friendship was found heightened, rather than lowered, for an honest man, in adversity.

No sooner was the character of *Rutilius* known, than *Probus* gave him the first place in his bosom. One passion seemed to move, one soul to animate both. No wonder then, *Probus* held all things in common with *Rutilius*. The houses, the servants, the cattle, the fortune, and the sword of *Probus*,
were

were all devoted to the service of *Rutilius* and his family and friends.

Probus never left *Bergen*, till he saw *Rutilius's* election secured by the general voice of the people. But, his care for his tenants in the country, who looked upon him as their common parent, took him to spend some time among them, just before the return of the viceroy *Tarringburgh*, whose precipitate proceedings against *Rutilius*, could not have admitted of the returning of *Probus* and the other country members to town, before the fatal work was done.

His distress, upon the unexpected cruel treatment given *Rutilius*, is easier conceived than expressed. He bitterly inveighed against it upon all occasions. He resolved, as far as possible, to supply his place, by becoming the patron of the citizens, their advocate, their champion. He asserted their rights in the diet, upon the principles of *Rutilius*, and got the truth of his complaints proved, and acknowledged by the commons and the senate; but, there was not virtue enough in the public to support him in his attempts for reformation.

After the public, his next care was for *Rutilius* and his family. As far as the loss of a father could be supplied to children, *Probus* prevented the orphans of *Rutilius* from feeling the distresses to be dreaded from the banishment of their father. He did not omit comforting his exiled friend, in the mean time. He assured him by repeated letters, that he would double his diligence in the service of the public, on his account; that his children should want nothing, that he could supply; and that as to *Rutilius* himself, he would share the last shilling of his fortune with him. In proof of which, he sent him a large remittance, and supplied him constantly after with the utmost liberality; till he found

found *Rutilius* establish such a character in *Copenhagen*, as procured him extensive practice.

Probus's example and influence induced many others to exert their generosity upon this melancholy occasion, as well as in opposing the torrent of iniquity, by which the overwhelming of the state was every day, more and more apparently threatened. But, it was all too late. There were not now virtuous men enough left to protract, much less to prevent the impending destruction of the state, which was compleated in the next reign.

While *Probus's* general character procured him the general respect of the public; while the court, and the real and pretended patriots affected a regard for him; yet had each such a private pique to his virtues, that they took the first opportunity of doing him a treacherous injury.

For public services, *Probus* was intitled to public bounties, out of a fund appropriated to this purpose. This could not be obtained without an application to the commons, or to the viceroy. The hawpt or governor of the commons and the under leaders confessed the equity of his demands, and while they bad him make his application in form, assuring him of success; they privately instructed some of their dependants to give it all opposition possible. Finding it thus likely to miscarry, and trusting to the justice and countenance of the viceroy, he withdrew his claim; with which the viceroy was so well pleased, that he solemnly assured him, he would see his just demands fully satisfied.

But this was only promising to take the sole method judged possible of obliging a man, who would accept of nothing that he could not in justice claim.

For, when the business of the diet was over, the viceroy returned to *Danemarch*, without any regard to the claims of *Probus*, or his own promises to him; neither

neither of which were ever discharged. But to shew that his excellency had some virtue, shame would never permit him to see *Probus* after, tho' he often called upon his excellency, as well in *Bergen*, as in *Copenhagen*. Thus falsehood and fraud took place of truth and justice universally. But, of this character, more hereafter.

L E T T E R X V I I .

TH E new viceroy, accompanied by his trusty secretary, and invested with proper powers, set out to take upon him his new government. He set out some months before the ordinary time of assembling the diet; as his enemies insinuated, the better to learn and further to cajole the long-duped people; but, as those that knew him believed, to compose the animosities that had unhappily divided and broke the wretched kingdom.

The coming of a viceroy earlier than the first full moon that preceded the day fixed for opening the diet, was a phaenomenon as astonishing as a comet, in *Nordweg*. Therefore many and various were the conjectures upon his excellency's arrival. These could not affect him, as he was determined, at all hazards and expences, to fulfil the instructions of his principal, and his senate and ministry.

The reception given him on his arrival in *Bergen*, would have done honour to the viceroy and people, had not the like compliment been ever lavished upon novelty in the same station. After a short stay, to enter upon his office, and to receive the compliments of the nobility, gentry and citizens; he made a tour to visit some of the other great cities, to review the forces, and to survey, with his own eyes,

eyes, the principal fortresses and garrisons of the kingdom. This too afforded new matter of speculation and censure, to such as think no man capable of doing a good thing, without some secret design.

In his circuit, he visited some of the men of distinction that invited him, and spent some days at their country seats. This too afforded subject for cavilling, to men of exquisite political sensibility. After this, he returned to *Bergen* to prepare for opening the diet, regardless of any thing that could be said to his prejudice, while the chief object in his view, was the fulfilling his commission.

His excellency was now conversant enough with the people of *Nordweg* to observe, that the only men that retained any sense of freedom or true regard to their country, were to be found in a class, with which he could hold no intercourse; while the men of property and rank, most of the members of the two chambers of the diet, whatever their public professions might have been, were all in secret drawing different ways, to gain some favour or advantage to individuals, at any expence or damage to the whole. Hence, he plainly saw, he was left but his choice of two evils; whether to subjugate the whole kingdom by a military force, in which all ranks of people might concur with his excellency's disposition against the project; or, at the expence of the public, to purchase a truce, an acquiescence under all past modes and schemes of administration; towards which, the leading men had already severally, directly or indirectly, made overtures.

When a man is reduced to make a choice of two evils, the best man can but chuse the less. Had military force been let loose on *Nordweg*, she must have yielded, and could probably never again hope to raise her head; the thoughts of which, his excellency

cellency could not bear. But, he found peace not only more suitable to his disposition, but the least prejudicial to the people. Subsidies must be granted, money must by some means be raised, for the support of the establishment; for which, a considerable surplus in the treasury was judged insufficient.

The commons were not to be got to set about this business, with the necessary temper, till the private passion of each was sated. And though the doing this, as each individual required, must have been attended with extreme present and future expence; it was better to agree to the propositions of accommodation and peace, made by the several members of the diet apart; than, by having the public business neglected, and new animosities raised, being brought under the necessity of exerting a compulsion, that must prove suddenly fatal in its consequences; whereas a virtuous people might in time hope to redeem themselves from the sale of them now offered to be made, by their perfidious trustees in the diet.

From these considerations, the viceroy was induced to let the people purchase their own peace; as the least evil that might in the present circumstances be chosen. He therefore opened his ears to the propositions of the ruling commons; of which, he found no man that could confide in, or draw with, another. Each had his private view and separate demand, without a thought for society, present or future. Each member, that lost a place or a pension, demanded restitution or an equivalent for what he lost, at least. And some rose in their demands, in proportion to the authority, their oratory or their pens gained among the populace or in the diet. And such as had no place or pension, before the late opposition, thought themselves intitled to something considerable, from the figure they made

in the contest. Thus, there was hardly a man to be found in the diet, who was able to do more than dispose of a monosyllable properly, that did not shew he got into the diet to rob the public of their liberties as well as of their property, to barter the liberties of the people, for the people's treasure; that is, instead of receiving moderate wages for serving, they now took exorbitant bribes from their constituents, for betraying them. Who then can pity their fall? Who does not wonder at its being so long protracted? Who does not admire the moderation, the prudence of their ruler?

The viceroy saw the only way of carrying his administration smoothly on, was to throw a veil over the transgressions of his predecessor. He therefore entered into separate treaties with each of the members. The baron *Gcbildaragh* demanded a few places and pensions for some of his friends and dependants in the diet, and for himself a place in the regency, and the leaving out the primate. And, as the active concurrence of the president of the commons was most necessary in the diet; his lordship recommended the procuring the present president to resign upon a peerage, with a pension for his life, and that of his eldest son, to make room for his excellency to get a man more to be depended upon, appointed to the chair.

To this, the president was induced to consent, getting promises of a restoration of places and pensions to some of his friends, lately set aside; and to secure a few more, that shewed their ability in the opposition, or their attachment to his interest. All the others yielded upon the like terms; some indeed, not being able to make as advantageous conditions for themselves, as if their leaders concerted with them. But, as each suspected the other, from the emotions of conscience, it was judged most prudent

prudent and safe to make the best terms that could be obtained in such an emergency.

Thus, in a little time before the opening of the diet, the viceroy was able to engage, to his purposes, all the ruling members of the diet, which easily secured a majority of the led members. The terms proposed to each apart was, that he should constantly attend the house, and to his might, publicly as well as privately, oppose all retrospect to the conduct of the late viceroy and to that of the secretary and treasurer. That he should give his voice and interest, as the government should direct, in the granting of subsidies and in the disposal of the surplus in the treasury; which should be done by king's letters or by a bill, without any mention of the previous consent of the crown, which proved such an handle for disturbances under the late administration. That each should give his vote and interest in favour of *Herr Punsyburgh*, the viceroy's brother-in-law, whenever the president's chair should happen to be vacant. And that they should move and pass no address to his excellency or the king, but such as he brought with him ready drawn, by his principals in *Danemarch*.

Each having thus made his bargain to his mind, few knowing, tho' all suspecting from their own hearts, what others had done; a patent was made out, creating the Haupt of the commons, baron of *Salten*, with a pension of two thousand crowns a year for life. This was kept secret and ready for a fit occasion to declare the chair vacant.

The diet was now opened with a speech, concerted by the ministry of *Danemarch*, suitable to the occasion. This was answered in the usual high strain of servile compliments, made time immemorial to the king and viceroy upon the like occasions. This answer, as well as the speech, was made in *Dane-*

March, and ratified by the leading commons first, and then by their followers, in due form, in the house.

In times of war, it would have been construed disaffection in any member, that should give any opposition to the granting of subsidies, the principal business of the *Nordwegian* diet. This part of the public business was always first dispatched. It now went off as glibly as ever; each member having been properly instructed in, and paid for, his task.

The rest of the public business was introduced and dispatched in its turn; all, that were not in the secret, every moment expecting some opposition to the present, and censures upon past, measures. But, all that hitherto appeared speakers in the house, were engaged to the viceroy; so that every question in the diet was carried as he directed, under the influence of the treasury. While the dumb, led members, not in the secret, stood staring aghast at one another.

Towards the latter end of the session, some that resented their not being personally consulted and considered, rose and gave some unexpected opposition. Before this got to any height, it was judged seasonable to vacate the president's chair. The new peer quitted it, for his pension and a seat in the upper house. Upon which, *Herr Punfyburgh* was chosen as his brother the viceroy directed, with little or no opposition. But, by a fair calculation of the bribes and pensions given to secure this gentleman's election, his taking the president's chair did not cost the public much less than two hundred thousand crowns. Thus expensive was final corruption of that wretched state!

Till now, the people were only in a ferment. Now, their indignation burst forth in fury, hardly to be restrained within any bounds. They uttered violent insults and severe menaces against all the
shameless

shameless betrayers of their country. The dastards kept a while out of their way, and in time, the fruitless rage of the multitude subsided.

In the commons however, a new spirit of opposition appeared. Some were instigated thro' disappointment; others by being deceived by pretended friends, who bargained for their sale, without giving them any share in the purchase. All now saw the crafts and artifices of the peers, *Salten* and *Ghebildaragh*, and felt the treachery of *Gorter*, *Malloffuzz*, *Furbman*, *Habns*, and the rest; and many exclaimed bitterly against them. But before an headless distracted society could pass the bitter resolutions, that some proposed, or could make motions to render the chair uneasy to the new, surreptitious president; the viceroy, to prevent animosities, brought the session to a sudden conclusion; for, while the commons were engaged in sharp debates, he commanded their attendance in the upper house, where he gave the royal assent to all the bills that were past, and then, proroguing the diet, bad them, as I do you, most heartily farewell!

L E T T E R XVIII.

THE entire secrets of the administration now came out. The populace raged universally, but most in *Bergen*. No rank escaped their indignation or their licentious tongues. They abused the viceroy himself, calling him a kind of journeyman viceroy, and compared him to the most hateful of his predecessors, from whom, they said, he differed in disposition, but as in name; in which, as they expressed it, their excellencies agreed to a T, the only difference between *Yarringburgh* and *Yarringburgh*.
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His excellency, finding the popular resentment rising to an excess of licentiousness, thought it best to shorten his residence, and retreat privately and in peace. He therefore named and commissioned his regents, which were the high chancellor and the lords *Gschildaragh* and *Befston*, leaving out the primate, agreeable to his compact, and the new president of the commons; contrary to custom.

When he had done this, he privately ordered ships to take him and his retinue on board; and, without giving notice to his army or his usual attendants, as secretly as possible embarked. By which he avoided a most ungrateful salutation from the enraged citizens.

Soon after, he arrived safe at *Copenhagen*, where he met a most gracious reception from his royal master; who, in a short time after, removed him from his now disagreeable vicegerency, to the most considerable employment about the court. This, his excellency soon changed for another of less trouble and importance, but which engaged him more in the royal presence.

When the first men of *Nordweg* were found so corrupt, so venal, that they stooped at no iniquity, for the perpetration of which they were paid; it was easy to break the force and weight of the public still farther, by encouraging all the people of fortune to quit the country. This was easily done by holding out to them the variety of tempting allurements about a court. The nobility and gentry of *Nordweg* had been so long nurtured and bred up in servility to a court, that it was judged expedient to mix a few of them with the diet of *Danemarch*. Wherefore, some were called up to the nobles, others were encouraged to purchase
seats

seats in the assembly of the commons in *Danemarch*, all the better to serve the purposes of the court, now bent upon enslaving the people of both kingdoms.

By this means, *Nordweg* was in a short time exhausted of her natural strength. All that could afford to live abroad, repaired to the court of *Danemarch*; where some got titles, others places and pensions, and many met their ruin. At length, the schools and universities of *Nordweg* were despoised and deserted; every man that could afford it, sending his children to be educated, or rather to make connexions at the schools and universities of *Danemarch*. What was now wanting to complete the ruin of this wretched people? Nothing, but diminishing the weight of the civil, and raising that of the military, power; a project, in which no magistrate of any rank failed: for, the most considerable offender could not now be taken or carried to the punishment of the stocks, without the interposition of military force.

Thus did the several kings, for several ages, concur with the malevolent subjects of *Danemarch*, in using all means to break the civil power in *Nordweg*, to take away the authority of diets, by making them hateful and contemptible, and in finally reducing the whole state gradually, but most effectually, to slavery: for, when after repeated trials of their diets, the people at length, by fatal experience learned, that they were so far from deserving confidence, that they did not dare to trust their pretended representatives; they were in time ready to submit to any kind of government, the king should offer; seeing none could be worse than they had long found their diets.

This was the disposition, to which the kings had long laboured to bring the *Nordwegians*. They

had

had at length gained the desired point. And nothing was now wanting, but to introduce such measures of administration in *Danemarch*, as should induce this people also to prefer any other form of government to profligate and perfidious diets.

Having taken this cursory view of some of the latter modes of administration in *Nordweg*, and seen how that unhappy people were prepared for the yoke of any bondage that should offer; let us see what further steps were taken to the same effect in *Danemarch*, before her final dissolution was wrought.

The war, which was upon just provocation declared, to bring an insidious, insolent enemy to justice, was prosecuted sluggishly, shamefully, and ended disadvantageously, ingloriously. Many men were loudly charged with such infamous practices, as prevented the successes of the fleets and land forces of *Danemarch*. But great offenders were so fenced in from justice, either by the crown or by factions in the diet, under the direction of the king or the ministry, that for a long time none could be brought to any degree of justice.

Repetitions of such miscarriages and lawless protections at length made the people violent and desperate. In proportion as the popular spirit was raised, that of the king and his ministers were, from consciousness of guilt, abased. The multitude soon saw their strength and the weakness of their contemptible rulers; and by noise and clamour, frequently drove the ministry from their purposes, and made them fall in with those of the populace.

A corrupt ministry and a licentious multitude, are equally hard to be confined within the bounds of reason or of law; each occasionally runs to boundless extremes. Cowards in power ever become the most merciless, perverse tyrants, as under

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subjection, they are ever the most abject vassals. By these alternately, were the falling people of *Danemarch*, for a long time, governed. When a cowardly ministry were brought to think their sway established; neither truth, justice, mercy or law were found to bear any part in the administration. And when a cowardly populace were brought to know, that they had gained the ascendant over a more dastard ministry; the popular clamour forced the ministers, sometimes to take just, but as often, the most unjust, measures.

Thus, the mob sometimes held honours, life and death at their capricious disposal. If any governor or commander was found so far to discharge the duty of his office, that he accidentally escaped incurring the censure or the lash of the law, which rarely happened in the last years of *Danemarch*; the mob first loaded him, often most unworthily, with clamorous applauses, and forced the men in power to heap honours upon him, where stripes, bonds and infamy were more justly due. Or, if the mob-led hero happened to die in the discharge of his office, even where declining his task was liable to be punished with death; his licentious patrons had such honours done his memory, as their wise ancestors paid to real worth. Thus were the diet sometimes put under a sort of necessity of erecting public monuments to men, for only doing that, which being omitted, subjected them to death, when judgment and law took place.

The like misfortune attended, when any man, however innocent, fell under the displeasure or dislike of the sometimes-sovereign rabble. If they imagined him criminal, it was enough. If they were able to come at him, they saved the civil magistrate the trouble of executing him, murdered the imaginary criminal, for the preservation of

peace and liberty, and the promotion of the public good. If the civil power upon any charge happened first to lay hold on any man; if he were rendered obnoxious to the corrupt multitude, which was ever in the power of factious leaders; he was condemned by the rabble rout in every coffee-house and beer-house, or other confused meeting; sung in doleful ditties thro' the streets, sometimes hanged and burnt in effigy; after which, it was hardly possible to get a court, that would venture to acquit him, however innocent they believed him; or a sovereign that would be permitted by his ministers to extend his mercy in the behalf of innocence and betrayed truth.

When it happened, that the rabble, for want of active leaders, did not keep their influence on the administration, matters run in the opposite extremes. Men were no longer dealt with in proportion to their crimes or their innocence, but in proportion to their interests at court. The blackest crimes were overlooked or past over with licentious impunity, in favourites of the men in power. It has often been known, that robbery, murder and high treason, have been made up, even after officious men made good the charges in the sight of those that were intrusted with power to punish the daring offenders. Murders that were committed under the sanction of a duel, were hardly ever punished; except when it fell to the charge of men in an opposite interest to the ministry. Adultery and rapes were likewise occasionally set down in the list of venial offences, or punished according to the affections of the party or faction, with which the criminal was connected. Yea, it has been known, that a daring offender has at one time escaped the punishment due to a rape, and some time after, upon the change and prevalence of party, has been outlawed

for the same crime. Upon a change in the system of ministerial affairs, the punishment of outlawry upon this offender has been suspended; till the malefactor, becoming hardened in his iniquity by such encouragement, has audaciously entered into a church, with a gang of armed ruffians, and there, in the midst of divine service, regardless of the sacred ceremony performing, in contempt of the sanctity of the place, and, the interposition of the man of God at the altar; in short, in open violation and contempt of the laws of God and man, has been known to seize the unhappy victim of his lust, and to carry her forcibly away, in the sight of a frightened, distracted congregation, and of weeping parents; making them all prisoners in the church, to prevent a pursuit or interruption, till the savage monster had sated his worse than brutal passion. Was there ever a people, that could suffer such outrages to pass unpunished? Yes; tho' you will hardly believe it, *Danemarch* has been cursed with a ministry, who has pardoned such unheard-of offences; or, which is still worse, given command, in the name of the king, that the matchless criminal should neither be prosecuted nor molested! Was ever such a licence for iniquity issued out in *Britain* or *Ireland*? Impossible! Were ever such indulgencies in iniquity issued out by the sin-licence office of hell, modern *Rome*?

Thus unequal and uncertain did the dispensations of honour, of justice and of law remain in *Danemarch* for the residue of a reign, which the best friends of the king, laying self aside, thought by odds too long. Wisdom, justice and truth seemed expelled the state, and no man in it seemed to pay any regard to the laws of God or man, further than he found it necessary for the promoting some private

vate end, to which the good of society was ever sacrificed.

I might here, if not heretofore, have closed the tragic scene, by bringing on the history of the great catastrophe in *Danemarch*: for every reader will rather wonder at her subsisting thus long, than he would at her fall, long before the measures of her iniquity were filled thus high. But, it may be amusing, if not to some interesting, to trace out regularly the progress of tyranny, thro' the various hands that contributed to the completion of the slavery of *Nordweg* and of *Danemarch*; to which purpose, I shall proceed in the sequel.

Let me here only make this short address to all kingdoms and states of the world; except *Great Britain* and happy *Ireland*; to which, all cautions of this kind must be unnecessary, useless, or impertinent.

You that have yet retained any sense of freedom, and the form of your antient free governments, if such a people exists, out of our free kingdoms; look about you; examine well the state of your political health; look to the administrations of your magistrates, councils and members; see whether any part be infected with the pestilence of corruption, that brought on the slavery and destruction of *Nordweg* and *Danemarch*. Take timely warning, by their wretched fate; retrench your luxuries; stop the progress of corruption; recover your country; grow wise; be virtuous; and with these good qualities, hand down the blessings of FREEDOM and HEALTH to latest posterity.

Here endeth the HISTORY of NORTHERN REVOLUTIONS,

PART II.

